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Near East & South Asia

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JPRS-NEA-94-035

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30 June 1994

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REGIONAL AFFAIRS

GCC Role in Mediating Disputes

94AE0128B London AL-HAYAH in Arabic
10 Jun 94 p 7

[Article by 'Abdallah al-Ash'al, former Islamic Congress legal council: "The GCC's Role in Mediating Disputes"]

[Text] The Gulf Cooperation Council [GCC] was created on 25 May 1981 under world and regional conditions that fostered the belief that its creation was in response to such developments as the worsening impact of the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, the fundamental changes in Iran as a consequence of the 1971 Islamic revolution, the Iraq-Iran war that seriously threatened the security of the region and its states for nearly a decade, and the acute crisis of Arab relations since the Egyptian-Israeli rapprochement began. And yet, the ultimate goal the GCC set for itself was a full union of its members once the roots of integration, cooperation, and coordination among them took hold.

Arab political thought was divided then on an issue that came to the fore every now and then: whether the creation of the GCC would bolster partial unions and projects that would weaken the Arab regional system and its organization, or whether it was a necessary and suitable alternative to what the Arab regional system should have created in the Gulf. The debate ended with a compromise between the two trends of thought once the GCC and its member-states launched a number of constructive initiatives in the Gulf and in the Arab region. The most significant such initiative was the drive to settle disputes, bolster stability, and proceed towards Gulf integration.

Stormy currents swept the region and caused the GCC to vacillate between its ultimate objective of union among its members by merging their systems and institutions, and merely perpetuating its existence. Perhaps the most important development that exploded on the scene after the creation of the GCC was a series of border disputes followed by a change in the course of the Arab-Israeli struggle when the Israeli invasion of Lebanon shifted the ramifications of the struggle to Palestinian, Lebanese, and Arab ranks. Relations among the three parties became frayed as a result, signaling the real end of the Palestinian factor as a consideration in the struggle. Another significant development at the time was the general deterioration in Iranian-Gulf relations as a consequence of Iranian-Iraqi war developments and the serious change in the direction of OPEC and of oil policies.

When the Gulf crisis exploded in 1990, it was "always more misfortune," as the Arabs say, because it caused the above-mentioned situation to worsen. Gulf border disputes were aggravated. National security, regional Gulf security, and Arab security all took on new meanings. The destiny of the Arab-Israeli struggle changed forever in view of the new openness. Iranian policies

focused on new horizons and in so doing frayed the nerves of the GCC and its members. These situations and the Arab League were left in their worst condition ever. The world order began the shift from the Cold War to a new era whose characteristics are just now becoming apparent. The Gulf and the Arab region were left with a considerable portion of the negative aspects of the period of transition, which in turn led the GCC to fully review its objectives 13 years into its history.

The GCC has withstood all those crises. Its mere existence and survival, even though the students of international organizations would rank it lowest against standards of evaluation and governance—its survival would prod us to conclude that, even though it has vacillated between being a pseudo-regional system and an organization of unity, this Council deserves our support of its existence and our finding for it a new role in adapting to repeated developments in the region. I do not think that I am advocating the Council's rebirth, since I have witnessed its inception and have monitored its course. It is my claim, however, that the Council has dedicated itself, albeit without complete success, to the important task of mediating disputes.

The Council has three spheres of dispute mediation: the first is intra-Council relations, the second is in the wider circle of Arab relations, and the third is in the area of Iranian-Gulf relations.

In settling intra-member disputes, the Council has not made use of the mediation mechanism that it planned to create. Rather, it opted for direct diplomacy to settle the border disputes between Qatar and Bahrain. It may be said at this point that Qatar's preference for a court solution has taken the problem from the hands of the GCC and added it to the list of cases before the International Court of Justice.

The Council has also been active since its inception in the second circle of Arab disputes with the objective of clearing Arab air all the way from Morocco and Algeria to Oman and South Yemen, with a detour to Syrian-Iraqi relations and to Palestinian disputes during the Lebanese era that was contemporary to the severe crisis in Lebanese-Palestinian relations in the aftermath of the Israeli invasion of 1982.

But the Iraqi-Kuwaiti crisis that preceded that invasion proved too stubborn for the Council's good offices. It is to be noted that the GCC stood firmly behind Kuwait and played an essential role in its liberation, militarily and politically, as well as financially.

We must note that in the sphere of Gulf-Iranian relations it has been, and still is, keen on transforming the Gulf into a lake of traditional peace between Iran and the Arab Gulf states but Iranian policies, both in the past and at present, cause the Council serious concern.

Iranian policies have been the main propeller and the important variable in the developments surrounding the GCC from the period preceding the Gulf crisis in 1990 at

the inception of the Iraqi revolution until it became preoccupied with the war with Iraq, and even through the post-Gulf crisis period [as published]. The balance of power between Iraq and Iran has tilted in Iran's favor with the entry of the Gulf and its strategies into the circle of world attention.

All the GCC member-states have endeavored to cool off Iraqi-Iranian relations, but they all differ in assessing Iran's bilateral relations with each of them. There is disparity therefore in how each of those states evaluates Iranian policies. Yet such disparity in attitudes towards Iran has not prevented the GCC states from siding with the UAE [United Arab Emirates] on the issue of the three Arab islands. They are convinced that the UAE has a right to those islands, and they hope that Iran will return them to it.

There is no doubt that U.S.-Iranian relations since the inception of the revolution, Iran's aspirations to regional roles in Asia and the Gulf, and America's position on that aspiration—there is no doubt that this has led to closer U.S.-Gulf relations especially in view of the Gulf crisis, of the peace process, and of Iran's attempts at tearing the Council apart. It becomes difficult, therefore, to find an acceptable common denominator between Iran and the GCC states that would be the foundation for bolstering stability and security in the Gulf.

It is also clear that the GCC operates in a regional environment governed by complex equations dictated by the geopolitical nature of the region and the tremendous cooperation in the strength, capabilities, and alliances of the various states. [sentence as published] The course of the GCC is primarily a function of the relations among its members, and it has been established that the Iraqi threat to one such member caused the Council to draw even closer together.

U.S. tension with either Iran or Iraq would result in the same product. The conclusion, therefore, is that the ideal climate for the GCC is one of peace between Iran and Iraq and of unanimous agreement on regional security. Only then can the GCC turn its full attention to achieving its objective of a full union among its members.

ALGERIA

Arms, Cash Destined for Mekloufi Group Seized

94AF0217A Algiers EL WATAN in French 8 Jun 94 p 3

[Article by Soraya Sayed: "Large Arms Trafficking Ring Dismantled"]

[Text] A large arms trafficking ring active both inside Algeria and overseas has just been dismantled by the security services. The security forces' sweep resulted in 75 arrests and the discovery of caches where large amounts of stolen money and arms destined for the Said Mekloufi group were captured.

Specializing in theft, extortion, and sabotage, this group has been active not only along the Algiers-Blida-Boumerdes axis but also in the city of Oran and Bordj-Bou-Arredj.

The most active members of the ring were working in the Aswak de Bordj El-Kiffan unit, where they diverted large quantities of rations and equipment for the use of another armed group. They worked with Djamel Lounici, Kamareddine Kherbane, and Mehiri to set up an arms trafficking ring with the help of foreign nationals.

They purchased several buildings in condemned residential areas of Ain-Nadja and Reghaia to serve as hideouts.

The ringleader of the group was one H.M., a Baraki resident and cashier at the Aswak de Bordj El-Kiffan unit. After his arrest, he revealed there was an armed group active in the Baraki region led by his own brother; the latter, in turn was taking orders from a certain B.A., also known as "Saad," from Reghaia. B.A. or "Saad," of Moroccan origin, was the national emir responsible for acquiring arms for Said Mekloufi's MIA [Armed Islamic Movement]; he also undertook operations in the Meftah and Cherarba regions.

For arms purchases, B.A. would contact a six-person group led by Tadjouri Belkacem (arrested), who was in charge of organizing former FIS [Islamic Salvation Front] militants in the Madjliss Echourra. B.A. used a Renault 16 to transport arms from Cologne in Germany through France and Spain into Morocco.

B.A. received the sum of 40,000 French francs [Fr] from a certain Benali for the purchase of arms. He would contact Mehiri, residing in Germany, who after finalizing the purchase sent the arms through a middleman named Adel, alias Hamza.

B.A. reportedly has admitted receiving large sums of money for the purchase of explosives from a certain bdenbacher of Bir Mourad Rais, as well as Fr100,000 to buy other material in France.

An Algerian-born Frenchman, K.M. was contacted by a certain Benaissa Rachid about bringing into Algeria a Mercedes 190D carrying seven Uzi automatic pistols and munitions from Cologne, via France and Morocco. Accompanied by a Moroccan named Karim, K.M. was taken in tow in Germany by Lounici Djamel, who entrusted him with the vehicle in question and a detailed sketch of the site where the arms were stored.

K.M.'s part of the mission ended in Oujda, as Djamel Lounici's instructions were to leave the vehicle with a Moroccan national.

Accordingly, K.M. returned to France, where Benaissa Rachid gave him a parcel containing 20 walkie-talkie units to be sent to Algeria via Marseille. This equipment had been purchased by a certain Abdelkader, proprietor of a Paris import-export agency, and turned over to a "bearded man" named Boussif.

On Benaissa Rachid's instructions, K.M. returned to Cologne to take receipt of 80,000 German marks from a certain "Fateh" and send the money on to Tirana, Albania.

He stayed for two days in an apartment in Cologne with Kamareddine Kherbane. The money was to be turned over to Said Mekloufi to purchase provisions for the armed groups.

He delivered the Audi waiting for him in Avignon (France) to Djamel Lounici in Cologne. Three days later the same vehicle was turned over to a certain Amine to be returned to Morocco, where someone was supposed to be waiting to take the merchandise. The vehicle was transporting three Kalashnikov automatic pistols and ammunition. The vehicle arrived as scheduled, but the weapons had disappeared. It turned out later that the thief was really a member of the Armed Islamic Group [GIA] who had successfully infiltrated the MIA.

OFPPRA Reports Increased Demand To Enter France

94AF0214B Algiers LE MATIN in French 5 Jun 94 p 3

[Article by Paris correspondent H. Zerrouky: "Algerians in France, an 'Explosion' of Applications: Travails of the Exiles"; first paragraph is LE MATIN introduction]

[Text] If we are to believe the French Agency for the Protection of Refugees and Stateless Persons (OFPPRA), there is "an explosion of applications" for asylum from Algeria.

In April, 185 applications were filed by Algerian nationals. In 1993, 1,098 applications were filed by Algerians, compared with 774 in 1992. According to the OFPPRA, this figure might be higher in 1994. From January to April 1994, 513 applications were already filed, i.e., more than one-half the figure for 1993. According to the OFPPRA, this increase in applications for asylum from Algeria is "related to the deterioration of the local situation" in Algeria.

In support of their requests, applicants mention threats from fundamentalist terrorists. Applicants, the OFPPRA says, are "mostly men (...), policemen and a few intellectuals." However, the French Government grants asylum only in a minority of cases. In 1993, only 274 of the 27,500 applicants of all nationalities were granted refugee status. Certainly, these applications for political asylum do not include all the Algerians who were forced to leave the country and found refuge in France, many of whom—several thousands—are taken care of by no fewer than 15 organizations of solidarity in support of Algerian intellectuals and journalists.

The efforts of these organizations are limited to attempts to regularize their stay in France. That is because many of them left with a mere tourist visa, obviously allowing only a limited stay, so that a considerable number find themselves in an irregular situation in France.

A 'Duty To Welcome Them'

Rachid Mimouni, by the way, echoed the distress of these exiles in an article published in the daily LE MONDE (see LE MATIN dated 24 May), in which he told the story of an artist—a painter—threatened with deportation out of France; Sami Nair, for his part, mentioned the duty of solidarity "toward those who are persecuted for their opinions, their lifestyle, the language they speak; this "duty to welcome them" was also mentioned by Martine Gozlan in L'EVENEMENT DU JEUDI. For the organizers of these solidarity organizations—usually volunteers with few resources (most of whom are Algerians or of Algerian origin)—the problem is how to identify, among those who wish to regularize their situation in France, those who are actually threatened by fundamentalist terrorism.

One association organizer who wished to remain anonymous, not because of threats but simply so as not to receive too many requests from genuine or fake asylum applicants, acknowledged that his organization is facing "a real problem." He confided that his association takes care only of co-opted, and therefore trustworthy, individuals. "We have to," he indicated, "otherwise we could not manage, considering that we might be helping fake applicants at the expense of genuine cases."

Another organizer blamed some applicants for their attitude, for almost expecting to have everything given to them. Witness the high-level official who fled the country and felt that they must help him find work, but not any kind of work because of the position he held in Algeria; or the journalist who was offered an apartment in the northern suburbs of Paris and refused, estimating that he could not live in a neighborhood with such a high concentration of Algerians...for safety reasons!

Those Who Want Everything at Once

Unfortunately, these Algerians who want everything at once—residence permit, houses, and a job—are legion, according to associations of assistance to intellectuals. However, the exception is not the rule [sic]. Many are content with regularizing their situation until the storm at home blows over. Those are not exiled for good, just in search of a momentary respite.

Some, who had a solid knowledge of solidarity networks, adjusted well to their new life. For most, however, it is a hardship. A university professor who left the country after receiving real threats is quite simply considering coming back home after struggling for more than eight months in Paris, where he could not find a decent job. Others are taken care of by French friends for a while: "but that cannot last forever," one of them said.

Even for those married to French women who were lucky enough to find jobs, the situation is not conducive to optimism. When four, or sometimes five or six people, must live on a salary which, in most cases, does not exceed 10,000 francs, with half of it going to pay the rent, not to mention other ordinary expenses, making ends

meet becomes more than difficult. The Algerian diaspora does what it can to help these exiles, who are estimated to number close to 10,000 French-speaking and Arab-speaking Algerians.

Who Is Threatened, Who Is Not?

One association is considering a gala starring Khaled, who is said to have agreed as long as receipts are rigorously managed to benefit those who are really threatened by terrorism. "If the idea of this solidarity gala materializes, that would make it possible to give a small sum to some applicants until they find work," an association organizer told us. Nevertheless, associations estimate that, for the time being, the priority for most exiles remains to regularize their situation with the French administration; not an easy task considering the laws that regulate foreigners' entry and residence in France.

Dinar Devaluation: Private Firms Threaten Layoffs

94AF0214D Algiers LIBERTE in French 29 May 94 p 2

[Article by Samir Knayaz: "As a Result of Foreign-Currency Losses Experienced by 450 Private Companies, 25,000 Workers May Lose Their Jobs"; first paragraph is LIBERTE introduction]

[Text] At the general meeting scheduled for this morning at the El-Aurassi Hotel, private investors affected by the depreciation of the dinar [DA] may well decide to fold their 450 companies.

Discontent prevails among managers of private sector companies. Their financial situation keeps deteriorating and has become disastrous, to say the least. The reason? Foreign-currency losses resulting from the devaluation of the dinar...in 1991. Four years later, the matter is still on the agenda, and the problem is still waiting to be solved. Private sector companies are experiencing huge difficulties and could soon find themselves forced to fold, thus forcing no less than 25,000 workers into unemployment.

At a press conference held yesterday at the El-Aurassi Hotel, the committee in charge of monitoring foreign-currency losses sounded the alarm once again—perhaps for the last time. The committee chairman, Mr. Hassani, again deplored the public sector/private sector dichotomy with respect to the settlement of this problem. "We are not opposed to the financial reorganization of the public sector. But whereas it gets injections of tens of billions of dinars every year, no one pays any attention to the private sector debts which, it should be emphasized, are not the result of mismanagement, but that of a financial policy that is totally inconsistent with the reality." Quoting figures, Mr. Hassani indicated that foreign-currency losses in the private sector amounted to some DA2 billion in 1992. "Already then, we were calling for a solution to that problem. But nothing was done and today these foreign-currency losses have

increased dangerously, to between DA5 and DA10 billion." For the committee chairman, it is obvious that this is not a financial but a political matter, "political because, in 1992, no less than DA274 billion was allocated to the public sector in order to offset the debts resulting from foreign-currency losses. What was done for our sector? Nothing at all; not one red cent, although only 5 percent of that amount (the DA270 billion Algerian) would have sufficed to solve the problem once and for all."

Yet, Mr. Hassani also emphasized, the 450 companies affected were given priority status by the government, as being capable of creating wealth by providing substitutes for imports and creating jobs. "These companies, whose files were closely examined by specialized government bodies, are therefore of recognized and proven feasibility. But that did not prevent certain circles to want to push them into bankruptcy at any cost." (...) "The productive private sector is the enemy of certain circles that do not wish the country to overcome its present economic stagnation."

Referring to the solutions proposed by the government to solve the foreign-currency exchange problem, the committee chairman recalled that in 1993, an offer was made to them to reschedule the debt resulting from the dinar depreciation, at a bonus interest rate of 11.5 percent. "This solution might have been acceptable if it had been applied immediately after the devaluation, when the debt volume was more or less bearable. But now it is no longer suitable, and besides all the companies affected reject it because, in practice, it would just aggravate an already critical financial situation." For the committee in charge of monitoring foreign-currency losses, the best solution, and the one that it calls for, is to apply the same treatment to the private sector as to the public sector, i.e., the government should take responsibility for the matter, as was done in other countries, in particular Tunisia, Morocco, Nigeria, Zimbabwe, or again Burkina Faso. "This measure would represent a gesture of solidarity on the part of the nation toward a dynamic and productive sector that has helped create goods and services, provide jobs, save foreign currency, and generate budget resources," Mr. Hassani further stated. All the same, the complaints of private companies have remained ineffective until now, even though at government level, in the past few days, mention was made of "the search for an effective and final solution."

Meanwhile, however, the 450 private investors' discontent is at its height and they increasingly consider the possibility of a strike, their last recourse to make themselves heard. As a result, today's general meeting takes on a decisive character, as it is quite likely that it may decide to lay off 25,000 workers.

The ball is now in the government's court.

EGYPT

Al-Alfi Clamps Down on Police Ties to Extremism

Officers Charged With Selling Police Weapons

94P50164A Cairo ROSE AL-YUSUF in Arabic
13 Jun 94 p 3

[Article by Karim Subhi: "Four Officers Before the State Prosecutor Charged With Trading Police Weapons"]

[Text] Interior Ministry investigations of 15 police officers have ended with the remanding of four majors to the State Prosecutor's Office for Public Property. The investigations have confirmed that the four officers who perform supervisory duties at the state weapons depots that supply the police (the largest most heavily stocked police depots) were converting weapons into unusable scrap metal through deliberate corruption and well-considered damage in order to save and deposit them in junk warehouses which fall under the scrapping code, later to resale them to a number of dealers. After discarding the damaged equipment and removing the defects, the weapons are restored to working order.

Initial evidence has indicated that the object of this crime was profit, but as the investigations have confirmed, its impact has put national security at risk.

Some inside the Interior Ministry have demanded internal reprimand or dismissal as sufficient action. However Major General Hasan al-Alfi's decision has led to the officers' remand to the State Prosecutor's Officer for Public Property.

'Disciplinary Deterrents' Will Be Imposed

94P50164E Cairo ROSE AL-YUSUF in Arabic
13 Jun 94 p 3

[Unattributed article: "Official Memoranda Confirm: Interior Ministry Warns Its Officers"]

[Text] ROSE AL-YUSUF has obtained Interior Ministry documents and memoranda directives that are addressed to the police officers and require them to work well with citizens and treat them with respect. The memos themselves (one of them being daily memo number 10/1994, the other, number 12/1994) stated that the ministry is warning those who would violate the required directives, stressing that they will suffer the consequences of their behavior as deterrent disciplinary measures will be taken against them. One of the official memos was pointing out the position of some respected officers who are up for district reelection to the People's Assembly.

ISRAEL

Approaches Toward Italian Government Considered

94AA0073A Tel Aviv HA'ARETZ in Hebrew
5 Jun 94 p 12

[Article by Nitzan Horowitz: "How To Treat Italy"]

[Text] Bill Clinton precisely chose Berlusconi's Rome as the first stop on his European tour in commemoration of the jubilee of the Normandy landing. The American president voiced ringing phrases about freedom from dictatorship in the first country in Europe that broke the taboo and made it possible for the political heirs of those responsible for the war to enter the government as legitimate partners. For some reason, Clinton expressed trust in Berlusconi and in his commitment to democracy, precisely against the background of repeated expressions of persons in the government coalition in favor of Mussolini and "the glorious past," and against liberalism, the Jews, foreigners, and other "enemies of the people." Clinton even emphasized that persons and parties should not be judged by their past, but by their acts when they are in power.

This astonishing approach raises questions as to the proper way to treat Italy, where the fascists hold five portfolios in the government. Many in Europe, as Clinton, argue that one should wait and see how the new government behaves before criticizing it. Others, and they are not few, believe that the very participation of fascists in a European government, especially in Italy, is a good reason for worry and requires vigorous action by Italy's friends. But they, too, struggle with the question whether to shun only the fascist ministers, or to take demonstrative measures toward the government and all of Italy, in order to make it clear to the Italians that such a political alliance is not acceptable.

The argument that the issue is only five ministers who hold minor portfolios is not to the point, likewise the argument that boycott actions are liable to strengthen the position of the fascists in Italian public opinion. Here the subject is not only Italy, but also a long line of European countries where are active fascist movements, which in this or that political situation could be considered as coalition partners.

The leaders of Europe hesitate as to the way to respond to developments in Rome, perhaps because they do not want to block for themselves political options in their own countries. This thing leads to one conclusion: the boycotting of the fascist ministers is a first and immediate step in a series of emphatic and demonstrative acts of protest that must be undertaken in order to prevent the spread of the plague to all the corners of the continent.

LEBANON

Israeli Motives Behind al-Dirani Kidnapping Viewed

94WR0176Z London AL-HAYAH in Arabic
28 May 94 p 15

[Article by Salim Nassar, Lebanese writer and journalist: "Is Iran Linking Release of Arad to Recovering Frozen Assets in Israel?"]

[Text] The kidnapping of al-Hajj Mustafa al-Dirani has left a trail of numerous ambiguous questions, both concerning the choice of the timing of the operation and the actual military execution of the operation, the political fallout of which has affected all of the forces in the Ba'labakk area, particularly since the town of Qasr Naba is not far away from the locations of the concentrations of the soldiers whose training has been overseen by the Iranian Revolution Guard since 1982. For these and other reasons, the penetration by the Israeli commandos was considered to be an open challenge to the commanders of Hizballah, the Organization of the Oppressed, the Islamic Jihad for the Liberation of Palestine, the Believers' Resistance, and various other regular forces deployed there. At the same time, it was also considered to be a significant indicator of the expansion of the range of [Israeli] pursuit and the fact that the area of retaliatory attacks has been expanded from the Southern Lebanon to the Ba'labakk and al-Biq'a' al-Gharbi area, which the Iranian Revolution Guard has had total control over, similar to the situation that characterized the Palestinians' former control over "Fatahland." Hizballah's decision to execute Husayn 'Asim 'Awwadah was interpreted as a violation of the laws of the nation, and Minister of Justice Bahij Tabbarah considered it to be a judgment that was not subject to the Lebanese system of justice. Although leaders have objected to such irregular practices, Hadi Reza 'Askari, the commander of the Iranian Revolution Guard, has said that his forces will not leave Lebanon until Israel withdraws from Southern Lebanon. In a newspaper interview, he also said that the arrival of his forces in Lebanon in 1982 was something that was carried out in coordination with Syria and the Lebanese people, and that their departure would also require coordination between the Syrians, Lebanese, and Iranians.

The kidnapping of al-Dirani reminded the Lebanese of the details of a similar operation that was planned by Minister of Defense Yitzhaq Rabin and carried out by a unit of Israeli commandos who were sent out especially to kidnap Shaykh 'Abd-al-Karim 'Ubayd from his home in the town of Jibshit (al-Nabatiyah) in July of 1989. Because of a difference in opinion concerning how to deal with the Lebanese resistance, Prime Minister Yitzhaq Shamir objected to the idea of the kidnapping, demanding [instead] that the death penalty be applied, as

was done with forces of the Palestinian resistance. This is what he did in 1992 when he ordered the assassination of 'Abbas al-Musawi, the former secretary general of Hizballah, in retaliation for a series of suicide attacks. Rabin criticized him, saying that the punitive measure of kidnapping 'Abbas al-Musawi could have brought to the fore the issue of the [Israelis] lost in action and helped to bring about the release of seven Israeli soldiers, including the pilot Ron Arad. Shamir rejected this logic, saying that the kidnapping of Shaykh 'Abd-al-Karim 'Ubayd in 1989 still had not helped to impel the two sides to release prisoners and soldiers lost in action.

Before delving into the details of the operation of penetration and kidnapping, it is necessary to review the case of the lost Israeli pilot who, in the eyes of the [Israeli] military establishment, was worthy of an adventure involving the dangers of possibly wrecking the peace negotiations and renewing the circumstances of an armed clash between Syria and Israel. It seems that Yitzhaq Rabin expected the occurrence of a mistake during the infiltration since he mobilized 3,000 soldiers, Navy personnel, and pilots and put the central and northern bases on full alert. A correspondent of the SUNDAY TIMES, who followed the course of the operation from the office of Chief of Staff Barak, admits that the prime minister spent the whole night following the news of the commandos and monitoring their movements in accordance with the prescribed plan. He left his office only at dawn, that is, after he was reassured that the two helicopters had come back westward and the operation had been successfully carried out.

On 16 October 1986 a surface-to-air missile fired from a Palestinian base east of the city of Sidon brought down an Israeli Phantom F-4 military aircraft. The Israeli pilot, Ron Arad, parachuted to the ground in the middle of a grove of olive trees. His comrade in the mission did the same thing, but the navigators of a helicopter, who were monitoring the place where he landed, managed to save him. After desperate attempts to find Ron, the Israelis left the area and informed their command that he probably had either been killed or taken prisoner.

One day after these skirmishes, Amal announced that it had captured the lost Israeli pilot. Then bulletins were issued indicating a willingness to exchange him for 100 Lebanese prisoners in the al-Khiyam Prison. Because of his party position as the person responsible for security affairs in Amal, Mustafa al-Dirani held the pilot until 26 February 1988. After this date, al-Dirani left Amal (or perhaps was kicked out of the party), and then he appeared in Ba'labakk, where he founded the Believers' Resistance, a fundamentalist organization linked to Tehran. The Israeli newspapers claim that the Iranian ambassador in Damascus, Hasan Akhtari, intervened and convinced al-Dirani that it was necessary to hand over the imprisoned Israeli pilot, Ron Arad, to Husayn al-Musawi's group.

It appears that the Israeli Government tried many times to bring about exchanges of prisoners, on the condition that the pilot Arad be part of the deal. But Hizballah and those elements supporting it denied that they had this pilot in their possession.

Ron Arad was only one of seven Israelis who were missing in action in Lebanon between 1982 and 1986. Foreign Minister Shim'on Peres says that Tzvi Feldman, Yehuda Katz, and Zekharya Baumel were taken prisoner in a tank battle near the town of al-Sultan Ya'qub in June of 1982 and that the Syrian authorities are holding them. At the present time, Rabin's government is endeavoring to recover the bodies of the two soldiers Yosef Fink and Rahamim Alshekh, who were taken prisoner during a battle with the forces of Hizballah in February of 1986. The Israeli media always mentions that these two soldiers were killed, whereas the leaders of Hizballah deny having any information concerning their fate. Prisoner exchange negotiations resulted in the handing over of the body of an Israeli soldier who, they say, was being kept by the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine. The exchange operation resulted in the handing over of the bodies of nine Hizballah soldiers and 51 Lebanese prisoners from the al-Khiyam Prison. And in spite of the offer to release Shaykh 'Abd-al-Karim 'Ubayd in exchange for the pilot Ron Arad, all the fundamentalist organizations and parties in Lebanon have denied having any knowledge concerning his being held prisoner.

At the beginning of April of 1993, The U.S. Department of State announced that Iran, via unofficial channels, had requested that it mediate with Israel in order to enable Iran to recover \$400 million, which the Shah's government had paid Israel for its participation in a joint military project involving the development of surface-to-surface missiles. Since Khomeyni's regime cancelled this deal after the Iranian revolution, Iran was demanding the full return of the assets that were being held by the Israeli Central Bank. According to a claim made by the U.S. Department of State, Rafsanjani's government promised to hand over the pilot Ron Arad and to work toward effecting the release of the bodies [of Israelis] being held by its organizations in Lebanon. When this information came out in U.S. newspapers, the authorities in Tehran hastened to deny that it had made such an offer, saying that the pilot who was missing in action had not been transferred to them from Ba'labakk, as the Israeli security authorities were claiming. Then suddenly a high-level fundamentalist leader, the name of whom the news agency FRANCE PRESSE refused to mention, intervened and said that Ron Arad was still alive and was being held by security authorities subordinate either to Syria or Iran. In his interview, he claimed that a Lebanese organization had handed the pilot over to these security authorities. The Lebanese fundamentalist source refused to reveal the location where the pilot was being held, saying that the location was not important, and that the important thing was that he was still alive. He asserted that the issue would only be resolved

with the agreement of both Syria and Iran, in view of the fact that this issue involves the matter of the Iranian diplomats kidnapped in East Beirut and the Syrian and Lebanese prisoners in Israeli jails.

The fundamentalist leader also referred to German-Iranian contacts that had taken place during the previous summer, which had resulted in the sending of an envoy to Damascus to coordinate with [Syria] concerning this matter. Germany considered that the issue of the pilot had become part of the overall resolution of the problem and that his release could not take place until there had been tangible progress in the bilateral Israeli-Syrian negotiations.

The United States became involved in the affair concerning the prisoners via Secretary of State Warren Christopher who asked President Hafiz al-Asad to help a U.S. congressional committee, which was visiting Syria and Lebanon last January in order to uncover the fate of the missing Israeli soldiers.

The Clinton administration, by means of this step, declared its intention to reactivate the case of the prisoners, after the matter had been restricted to activity undertaken by the International Committee of the Red Cross. Although Syria cooperated with the U.S. congressional committee, Hizballah refused to meet with them, saying that its battle with the United States and the West was linked to its battle against Israel.

In the thick of the U.S. efforts, the Egyptian ambassador to Israel, Muhammad Basyuni, brought up this issue in a way that angered Yitzhaq Rabin. In a televised interview, the ambassador said that Ron Arad was in Lebanon and that he hoped that all the nations of the world would intervene to obtain his release and return him safely [to Israel]. The opposition, led by Netanyahu, exploited the occasion of this statement to attack the government and demand that it pressure Damascus, Tehran, and Beirut to release the prisoners and hand over the bodies. Rabin was forced to criticize Ambassador Basyuni by means of the [Israeli] Army Radio, because he had brought up a very critical matter which was not appropriate for any diplomat to bring up in a manner which was embarrassing to the nation [of Israel] and the families of the soldiers missing in action.

Last 4 December, in Brussels, Yasir 'Arafat handed over to Rabin the name tag of the killed Israeli soldier Zekharya Baumel. He said that he was ready to cooperate in the realm of exchanging prisoners and soldiers missing in action. Sharon exploited the existence of this name tag to attack the [Israeli] government for its negligence and demanded that it adopt a position that was more resolute and decisive. And it seems that Yitzhaq Rabin exploited the occasion of the regular soldiers and party organizations being involved in celebration of the holiday season and ordered the kidnapping of al-Hajj Mustafa al-Dirani.

In view of this third operation [by the Israelis] in the realm of kidnapping and assassination directed against the fundamentalist organizations that constitute the core of the Lebanese resistance, there arise numerous questions concerning the real motives for seizing al-Dirani.

The first motive would be to remind Israel's neighbors of its "policy of the long arm and the big club," the idea being that this arm reaches not only Southern Lebanon, but also the heart of Ba'labakk, the strategic corridor that protects Damascus.

The second motive would have the aim of putting into practice the most important of the clauses of the 18 May agreement and [demonstrating] Israel's insistence on implementing it unilaterally. The clause containing the expression "hot pursuit" still constitutes the security basis for defending the Upper Galilee area. As we know, this expression was included in the context of the agreement in order to justify the entry of Israeli forces into areas where the Lebanese Government is unable to assert its authority. U.S. forces in Vietnam had utilized this concept as an emergency pretext to mount operations that penetrated the borders of North Vietnam.

The third motive would be to demonstrate Israel's objection to the pressures being exerted on it by the U.S. administration. There is information to the effect that Christopher's last visit achieved some progress concerning a settlement dealing with the Golan Heights. Since Rabin is unable to convince the man in the street in Israel to embrace the conditions set by Damascus, it was expected that this operation would abort U.S. efforts, as was the case when Shamir blew up the peace negotiations of 1992 by carrying out the assassination of 'Abbas al-Musawi.

The fourth motive would involve the importance of the information that al-Dirani would be able to furnish, especially concerning the group that is holding the pilot Ron Arad, or the group that is providing protection for those who are holding him. This means that the Israeli Government would be exploiting this matter—as it exploited the matter of the Jews in Syria—to occupy Christopher with another issue that would have to be solved immediately—unlike the issue of a settlement dealing with the Golan Heights or Southern Lebanon.

The fifth motive has to do with the timing of the withdrawal from Gaza and Jericho and distracting the Israeli public by means of a secondary event that is bound to monopolize its attention. Also, this would give the Israel Defense Forces a boost in morale after the blow their morale suffered during their retreat and withdrawal [from Lebanon].

The sixth and last motive would be based on the principles established by Ben-Gurion when he decided to carry out the policy of punishing any individual, nation, or organization that had committed crimes against the Jews. Eichmann's kidnapping and trial in an Israeli court

was the first instance of putting into practice the procedure of pursuit [of persons who had committed crimes against the Jews] within the framework of a position that each subsequent government, in turn, put into practice.

It is in light of this background that one must read the motives that have impelled Rabin to utilize the issue of Ron Arad for the purpose of achieving other objectives that are more important than a pilot who may have been killed in a plane crash.

UNITED ARAB EMIRATES

Abu Dhabi Scenarios To Meet Oil Fluctuations

94AE0126A London AL-SHARQ AL-AW'SAT in Arabic
10 Jun 94 p 15

[Report by Taj-al-Din 'Abd-al-Haqq from Abu Dhabi: "Figures Have Not Been Released for Years; Abu Dhabi Cuts Budget by 20 Percent But Salaries Remain Intact; Three Scenarios To Meet Oil Fluctuations"]

[Text] Jaw'an Salim al-Zahiri, undersecretary of finance for the Emirate of Abu Dhabi, said it was unlikely that salaries or service projects would be reduced as a result of this year's 20-percent budget cutback. Only capital expenditures and certain administrative expenses, he noted, would be affected.

Al-Zahiri made reassuring statements on the possible effects of the emirate's decision to cut back its budget this year. He said the cutback will involve either the somewhat-inflated budget this year or the accumulation from years past, and that the funds saved by the cutbacks will be used for new projects, activities, and services within the framework of a budgetary program that heeds priorities and needs—be they development projects or urgent services—as well as the ability of certain agencies to absorb their budgetary allocations during the current fiscal year. He added that the best means will be used to ensure efficient performance at the optimum cost to the treasury. He explained in this regard that the budget cutbacks will also affect certain government projects which will be ranked by priority. Those that are deemed urgent will be implemented this year. The others will be relegated to future years and carried out in accordance with actual need.

On the reasons for reducing the emirate's budgeted expenditures for 1994, al-Zahiri said that the cutbacks were promoted by oil market conditions, by oil price fluctuations in past months, and by an increase in requested agency allocations in this year's budget.

He noted that the Department of Finance had prepared its 1994 draft budget on the basis of three possible oil price scenarios that consider the highest, median, and lowest forecasts for such prices in the current year.

He pointed out that oil prices fluctuated during the first five months of the year in response to world supply and demand for oil and to prevailing world conditions. "We hope, however, that our year-end forecasts will be close to budget estimates."

He added that the decision to reduce expenditures is also meant to ensure economic development continuity in a balanced fashion over an extended period in preference to very large economic spurts followed by acute recession. He said that equilibrium and continuity could be assured for development in general by scheduling projects and services over longer spans and in accordance with specific timetables.

He said: "We noticed that economic development has accelerated in the emirate this past year despite oil market conditions and despite the impact of price fluctuations on the economies of the producers that are largely dependent on oil revenues. That accelerated growth has benefited certain sectors such as real estate and construction, agriculture, and commerce. It has also been our view that we must safeguard balanced growth and must also proceed with budgetary expenditures with a deliberate, scientific, and technical approach that targets balanced and continued growth while helping us control outlays and expenses and keep them in line with available resources.

Asked whether Abu Dhabi's cutbacks would have an impact on the federal budget, al-Zahiri said the cutbacks only affect the emirate's local budget and have no impact on federal spending.

On the subject of new proposals to rationalize future spending, al-Zahiri said, "The policy of reducing outlays and rationalizing expenditures has produced good results during [previous] fiscal years and we will maintain this policy in future years in order to improve budgetary performance either by reducing allocations or by boosting the ratio of productivity to the actual cost of services."

He added: "We are considering new technical systems for improving and developing fiscal performance through the budget in order to produce better future results that would be reflected in development as a whole. The savings realized from the 20-percent budget cutback will balance revenues against expenses in 1994 as well as in future years."

On the impact of the cutbacks on the private sector, which depends on government spending to a considerable degree, al-Zahiri said that the cutbacks will not have any noticeable negative effect on the private sector this year because of the multiplicity of on-going projects and because services will be maintained at their current level.

The Abu Dhabi Executive Council recently reviewed the preliminary estimates of the Abu Dhabi government's draft budget for 1994 in light of a memorandum presented by Director of Finance Muhammad al-Habrush. After a lengthy discussion of budgetary objectives, which consist of developing services in all fields and activities and of allotting available expenditure resources among all sectors, the Council resolved to reduce proposed budgetary expenditures for 1994 by 20 percent in order to rationalize spending and to better utilize resources.

REPUBLIC OF YEMEN

Bin Farid Discusses Crisis

94AE0139A London AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT in Arabic
10 Jun 94 p 2

[Telephone interview with Muhsin Bin Abu-Bakr Bin Farid, South Yemen's deputy prime minister and planning and development minister, by Lutfi Shatarah, in Abu Dhabi; date not given—first paragraph is AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT introduction]

[Text] London—Muhsin Bin Abu-Bakr Bin Farid, secretary general of the League of the Sons of Yemen [LSY] and deputy prime minister and minister of planning and development in the South Yemen cabinet formed by Engineer Haydar Abu-Bakr al-'Attas, has emphasized that the "Southerners have no choice but to fight." In a telephone interview with AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT from Abu Dhabi, where he is accompanying al-'Attas on an Arab tour, Bin Farid said that "Aden, which is experiencing a tragic situation as a result of the blockade imposed by the Northern forces, will continue to stand fast and will not be laid open, contrary to what a YRG [Yemeni Reform Grouping] leader has said." Bin Farid disclosed that the "balances of struggle will be upturned very soon, whether regarding Aden's position in particular or regarding South Yemen generally." Following is the text of the interview:

[Shatarah] What are the most distinct issues that you have presented in your Arab and Gulf tour?

[Bin Farid] The main issue to us is to stop the ongoing 'Ali 'Abdallah Salih-led massacre in the South and, at the same time, to speed up implementation of Security Council Resolution 924, to meet with Southern Yemenis in the diaspora to familiarize them with the country's true conditions, and to acquaint Arab leaders with the true nature of the tragedy our country is experiencing.

[Shatarah] What is your assessment of the military situation and of the blockade the Northern forces have imposed on Aden?

[Bin Farid] Basically, the war has been imposed on us. We weren't prepared for such a confrontation, because we thought that the logic of dialogue had to prevail, whereas the other side had intentionally opted for war and was preparing militarily. Because war was imposed on us, we have had no option but to stand and defend our homes and our honor. The war has been going on for more than a month along a front that extends from Lahij to central Shabwah Governorate. Battles have included Aden, Abyan, Shabwah, and Hadhramawt.

Our people and our armed forces have displayed rare heroism and great steadfastness for more than a month, thus foiling the invaders' dreams. It seems that 'Ali 'Abdallah Salih's plan was based on the assumption that he would achieve a sweeping military victory in a few days. But a month has already lapsed and our people

continue to stand fast on all fronts, despite the disparity of forces. The elite Southern forces that had been moved to the North have been destroyed, such as the 3d Brigade in 'Umran, the Basuhayb Brigade in Dhamar, and the Artillery Brigade in Yarim.

Moreover, Salih sends human waves to the war fronts daily. Despite this, our people have remained steadfast for a simple fundamental reason, namely that we are defending our land and our right to live as free citizens far from domination, subservience, and annexation. We believe that the southern military situation has accomplished great steadfastness and we are confident that our people will continue to defend their life and their survival with all their capabilities.

As for Aden, we feel grief, sadness, and pain for the destruction visited upon it. But Aden will remain steadfast and lofty and it cannot be laid open, contrary to what Dr. 'Abd-al-Wahhab al-Daylami, a member of the YRG Supreme Council, has said. Aden's citizens in particular and Southern citizens generally will defend their capital from street to street, from house to house, and from room to room.

[Shatarah] It is reiterated that recognition of the new republic in the South could depend on the military situation and on steadfastness on the ground.

[Bin Farid] To begin with, we are defending our soil, our country, and our dignity, regardless of who recognizes us. But at the same time, we urge the Arab and Islamic world and the world community to support our people in their ordeal and tragedy and not to allow somebody who imagines that he has achieved limited military progress to try to dictate a new fait accompli on our country. History teaches us a lesson. German invaders reached Leningrad (St. Petersburg in Russia currently) but they withdrew in defeat.

With our people's will and steadfastness, we will force 'Ali 'Abdallah Salih and his infernal military machine to leave our land and let our people live in freedom and honor. At the same time, we are confident that recognition is just a matter of time. The South is an immense and vast territory. We will fight in Aden, in Shabwah desert, in al-Dali' Mountains, and in the valleys and plains of Hadhramawt with all the means and capabilities. We will compel Salih to regain his senses. We have no choice but to defend our right to a free life.

[Shatarah] Reports indicate that 'Ali 'Abdallah Salih is wagering on a U.S. position that clings to Yemen's unity and uses this position to justify his forces' advance to control Aden and preserve unity?

[Bin Farid] The United States has supported the GCC [Gulf Cooperation Council] resolution, and I believe that this is an advanced move in this position. The United States was among the first to agree to and support Security Council Resolution 924. In all its positions, the United States says it condemns the use of force. It is logical that the United States would not deal with a fait

accompli imposed by 'Ali 'Abdallah Salih. Therefore, we believe that the United States, by virtue of its current role in the international community and its keenness on human rights, democracy, and freedom, will not condone methods that destroy Yemen and Yemen's unity and resources. The United States cannot but respect the will of the people in the South. We don't expect the United States to be trapped by the Sanaa political leadership's blackmail snare.

[Shatarah] The conditions in Aden are tragic now that all water supplies have been cut off. What are the steps being taken by the new government to alleviate the impact of this situation on the citizens?

[Bin Farid] The government hasn't engaged in any real action, because its entire effort is channeled toward mobilization to confront the invasion. But at the same time, the government will make all possible efforts to secure the minimal essential services to our steadfast sons in Aden.

For example, during this tour, we have exerted efforts so resources and equipment will be dispatched to help extinguish fires in the Aden refinery. At the same time, we have underlined the humanitarian aspect and pointed out the strikes by 'Ali 'Abdallah Salih's forces against electricity and water installations.

We believe that such operations that target vital installations will have bad consequences to Salih himself. What is more, Salih's approach of striking the basic environment of one of Yemen's prettiest cities shows that he isn't concerned with Yemen's unity, Yemen's cities, or Yemen's people.

Anyway, we have no choice but to stand fast. We are fully confident that it will not be long before the balances are upturned insofar as the situation in Aden particularly, and in South Yemen generally, is concerned.

[Shatarah] President Salih has threatened to carry on with the war if solutions are imposed on him by the Security Council through the dispatch of forces to observe the ceasefire. He has said that the situation will then become similar to what has happened in Somalia.

[Bin Farid] It seems that 'Ali 'Abdallah Salih isn't content with intimidating our people and that he seeks to intimidate the international community and the international will, which is embodied in the Security Council resolution, with such statements. We believe that Salih can do no more than what he has already done to our country. Therefore, he shouldn't blackmail the international community with such statements.

[Shatarah] There are those who view the LSY support for the YSP [Yemeni Socialist Party] on the secession issue as a marriage of convenience that will dissolve when the existing condition ends.

[Bin Farid] We were one of the first political parties to support unity when it was proclaimed in 1990. We were present throughout the arena from Sa'dah to al-Mahrah.

Our pro-unity tendency was sincere, and we didn't engage in oneupmanship against anybody.

But when we became certain that Sanaa didn't want to deal with the Southern citizens on the basis of partnership and equal citizenship and when that leadership marched on the path of militarizing the crisis and, consequently, touching off the war, we had no choice. When we were in Aden, we had to launch the national opposition bloc initiative that calls for ending the war and forming a national salvation government for all of Yemen.

We said that we would oppose whoever opposed the initiative and would support whoever supported it. The YSP welcomed the initiative. Consequently, we coordinated with it. When military operations intensified, we and the YSP had no option but to declare a political entity in the South under the name of the Democratic Republic of Yemen [DRY]. This was an option we have had to take so we can confront the Northern leadership's onslaught and arrogance.

We don't deny that we had a bitter experience with the YSP in the past lean years. But times change, and so do people. Here we are today standing in the same trench with the YSP to defend our entity, honor, and freedom.

We aspire to create and develop an ideal system in the South, learning from all past mistakes. We hope that this new system will be tantamount to the model from which the brothers in the North will learn a lesson. Yemeni unity will be then founded on correct and sound bases of integration, respect, and equal citizenship.

[Shatarah] But how do you explain withdrawal of the Yemeni Unionist Grouping [YUG] from the secession decision, even though the grouping is one of the parties most supportive of the LSY policy, despite the fact that its policy hasn't been identical with your policy?

[Bin Farid] We bear utter appreciation and respect for our brothers in the YUG leadership. We appreciate their opinions and their position. But the fact is that their position is idealistic and that their view of unity is utopian. The question is: How can there be unity when the Sanaa leadership is demolishing Aden, crushing its citizens, and destroying its installations? What unity can survive in light of the Sanaa political leadership's determination to view the South as a branch that has returned to the mother tree and to deal with the Southerners arrogantly and superciliously? So, we believe that the YUG position is idealistic. Consequently, the YUG hasn't preserved unity and hasn't, at the same time, performed its duty of confronting the military machine that is destroying al-Waht, al-Hawtah, and Sabr. I believe that the YUG position is negative.

[Shatarah] The South's military position is a defensive position and it gives rise to questions. This position was more effective at the beginning of the military battles. Are there Arab and international pressures to confine the

South's role to self-defense as a precondition to helping you through the adoption of strong positions at the Arab and international levels?

[Bin Farid] As I understand it, there are no pressures from any party on how to confront or deal with the other side militarily. Even though we are keen on not destroying the infrastructure of any city or village and on not using Scud missiles except in cases of extreme necessity because we are against the use of this weapon in the first place, we are compelled at times to use this weapon, which is directed at military targets basically. We don't plan to use it against civilian targets.

[Shatarah] Are there preliminary statistics and figures on the dimensions of the South's human and material losses?

[Bin Farid] The battle has been going on for more than a month. The battlefronts are broad. To my knowledge, there are no accurate statistics. It is logical that we will not get the real loss figures, whether for material or human losses, until the end of the ongoing war in our country. But what is indubitable is that the losses are exorbitantly heavy, whether in military equipment, infrastructure, or human life, both military and civilian. I believe that our country has been afflicted with an immense catastrophe, compared to our limited material resources.

[Shatarah] What position will the Southern leadership take if the efforts of Lakhdar Ibrahimi, the UN envoy to Yemen, fail, and if Sanaa refuses to engage in dialogue with the YSP leaders?

[Bin Farid] We have one option only, namely to fight from house to house, from street to street, and from mountain to mountain. This is our option and our destiny. We believe that when 'Ali 'Abdallah Salih realizes that the South isn't an easy prey, he will reconsider his calculations.

[Shatarah] What is the real position of the Southern military forces?

[Bin Farid] I would be unrealistic if I said that their position is excellent. We are confronted with a battle that we hadn't expected and with forces that aren't equal in terms of manpower. We are much smaller in number than the Northerners. But we have the will and the determination because we are defending a cause, namely our right to live free, not enslaved and not subservient.

[Shatarah] The Southern command has accused some countries, such as Iraq and Sudan, as well as the organization the fundamentalist Jihad [group], of being involved in the war. How true are these accusations?

[Bin Farid] We wish that no foreign party were involved in our Yemeni conflict, because the presence of any such party will further complicate the situation. However, there are material indications of an Iraqi role. A number

of Iraqis have been arrested on the Shabwah-Hadhramawt front, and they have been shown on television. There are signs of a Sudanese role also, either through Jihad groups who are fighting with the Northern forces or through the provision of undeclared aid to Sanaa.

At the same time, there are signs of a Jordanian role on Sanaa's side. We wish the brothers in Jordan, who sponsored the Pledge and Accord Document, would at least stay neutral in this war, if they will not support the oppressed and assaulted party, namely the people of the South.

[Shatarah] But Sanaa has denied this and has said that they are teachers....

[Bin Farid] I wonder: How do teachers end up on battlefronts? This allegation is part of the deception practiced by the Sanaa leadership verses our people and the world. The best proof of such deception is the telephone call in 'Ali 'Abdallah Salih's voice. In this call, which has been broadcast to the world, Salih instructs his military commands to carry on with the war and not to listen to what is said about a ceasefire. Thus, 'Ali 'Abdallah Salih says one thing and does another.

INDIA

Wisner Seen Terrible Choice as Ambassador

94AS0305C Varanasi AJ in Hindi 28 May 94 p 6

[Editorial: "Prithvi Missile and Wisner"]

[Text] The Indian military will test the military capability of the surface-to-surface missile Prithvi for the first time during the first week of June. Three missiles have been given to the military for this purpose. While India is trying to install its missiles on its western border, the United States is opposing this action with full force. These two events are taking place just after Prime Minister Narasimha Rao has returned from the United States after establishing new relations with them. The people of our nation are concerned by this strong opposition to Prithvi by the new "uncle" of India so that the Indian government might cancel its plans to install these missiles on the western border under this pressure. It is surprising that Frank Wisner, who was nominated as ambassador to India by the Clinton administration, has openly threatened India that the consequences of installing missiles on the western borders will be very serious. Wisner had to defend his nomination in front of the Foreign Affairs Committee a second time because Pressler had strongly opposed Wisner's appointment to India and had given significant reasoning for his opposition. After seriously thinking about the poison that Wisner had spewed [against India] we could understand one thing, if he were appointed U.S. ambassador to India, the relations between the two countries would deteriorate, not improve. The Indian government should make it clear to the Clinton administration before anti-India Wisner comes to New Delhi to take over the U.S. embassy, that the appointment of such a person to this position will ruin relations between the two countries. Ambassadors are appointed to improve relations, not to spoil them. The people of this nation will not accept Wisner's anti-India attitude. Therefore, the Clinton administration should reconsider its decision. If the Indian government is not willing then William Jefferson Clinton cannot force his favorite Wisner on India.

Wisner repeated in the Senate committee on international affairs what committee chairman Congressman Hamilton had said long before Prime Minister Narasimha Rao's visit to the United States. Prime Minister Narasimha Rao did not compromise on the Prithvi and Agni programs during his trip to the United States. This is something to rejoice about. Even more pleasing is the development that Mr. Rao will not bow down under the pressure of Hamilton and Wisner who are both opposed to India and will not compromise regarding our defense. The people have full faith in their prime minister's diplomatic ability. The U.S. ambassador nominated to India has issued a hidden threat to India. He does not even know what kind of a missile Prithvi is and whether it is related to a nuclear warhead. Still, Pakistan's friend and supporter Wisner says that peace in South Asia will be in jeopardized if India installed

Prithvi on its western border. Wisner is trying to tell India that if it installed Prithvi, many missiles from many sides will be aimed at India. Wisner is trying to demoralize India by threatening it before coming here. India should prove that this country of Nehru and Indira Gandhi can tolerate others only to a limit. If they cross that limit, India can strongly confront not only a superpower but the Great Satan itself.

The name Wisner implies wisdom, however, this is disproved by his beating even Dr. Goebbels in lying. Wisner says that China is not doing anything major in the nuclear field. Wisner also says that China does not have nuclear bombs. His lies reach the limit when he says that China is not capable of carrying out a war with traditional weapons. China is not in a position to hurt India! We do not know in which corner of the world Frank Wisner lives. China is a nuclear power and is going to test a hydrogen bomb soon. It has the capability to make a 50 mega-ton hydrogen bomb. It sells missiles like India's Prithvi in the market and Pakistan has bought M-11 missiles from China. China has tested several nuclear bombs. Despite all this, Wisner does not think India faces danger from China or Pakistan. This is the same Wisner who had recommended to the Clinton government to supply F-16s to Pakistan. Wisner is worried about Prithvi. He should be asked; If Pakistan has an atomic bomb, will it use F-16s to shower flowers on South Asia? Some diplomats have the habit of prattling of course. We will not worry until we see that our prime minister is not working to protect India's dignity.

Government Economic Policy, Gains Reviewed

94AS0306A Jaipur RAJASTHAN PATRIKA in Hindi
27 May 94 p 8

[Article by Balraj Mehta: "Prices and Government Policy"]

[Text] Finance Minister Manmohan Singh promised a few weeks ago that inflation would be controlled within three months. In this context, no progress has been made, especially in the area of prices of consumer goods. What was the reason for his optimism about prices? They made arrangements for the importation of sugar on a large scale, however, these imports were being made by traders because of the government's open market and liberalization policy. The general distribution system is already weak, and the supply that was increased by imports was disposed of into the open market. Still, there was no effect on sugar prices. Those who criticize government interference in the economic system and believe that non-government trading and the open market can resolve the problem of the consumer should think about this situation again. In the Indian situation, the market does not move with the weak and unorganized consumers in mind. The traders and producers exploit the consumers in the Indian situation and find ways to increase their profits.

Imports of Sugar and Edible Oils

Importing sugar and edible oil appears to be an easy way to meet the government's need, because our foreign exchange reserve is increasing. The government has neither the capability nor the desire to use it for increasing investments or increasing the rate of our economic progress. The Reserve Bank of India is also following this path. It got a little worried after the policy for borrowing money was announced during the first six months of 1994-95. It is expected that the loan policy will determine the flow of loans and help control inflation. The internal investment will be especially controlled in the public sector. Unfortunately, the government policy is based on the belief that the economy cannot be pulled out of the quicksand of sluggishness. Therefore, the whole effort is focused on bringing inflation down to a normal rate, and the rate of progress is also being slowed down. In the present depressing political situation, the only ray of hope the government can see is the increase in foreign investment. It is being used for investing in every profitable area. Therefore, whenever possible, they are allowing the condition asked by the foreign investors to attract foreign investment. In this context, it is important to carefully study the rise and fall in prices during the last few years. Efforts have been made to control the economy by slowing it down, in order to control inflation. The results of changes that have occurred in the income system will be in front of us soon. It seems that inflation was encouraged on purpose during the last three years so that the Indian market could be restructured, and by increasing the complexities of income, the Indian market could be open for foreign investment, goods, and services. Prices of some specific commodities were increased in this way so that the buying power of one portion of the population would increase and be able to purchase high-priced services and goods. The fall in the inflation rate in 1993 was affected by good rains. After the structural reforms in our economy, the second phase of inflation was natural. An important aspect of this is that the market is being run for prosperous groups, and the general public is not benefiting.

The Effect of Inflation

Inflation, after all, is not an uncontrollable income-price cycle which affects every person in the society equally. The effect of inflation varies for the different groups of society, and it changes buying power of various groups differently. Inflation does not cause an equal increase in the prices of all commodities; the price of one item could increase a lot, while the price of another could remain stable, or even be reduced. The different groups in society consume different things. The incomes of some groups increase a lot more than those of other groups. The proportion of prices changes with time, depending on income category.

The rate of inflation by the government is determined by the change in the wholesale price index. The official consumer price index is prepared for high-ranking

employees in industries, clerks, people employed in services and government, and farm laborers. The price indexes available for 1991-92 and 1992-93 indicate that the rate of inflation was highest for farm laborers. If we observe the monthly inflation figures given in the economic survey of 1993-94, then this is very clear. Between July 1991 and June 1992, the wholesale price index ranged from 13.1 percent to 16.3 percent. The consumer price index increased from 13 to 15.7 percent for one year and from 15.4 to 23.9 percent for the other year. Whenever there was a decrease in inflation, most of it was in the context of farm laborers. The reason for this large difference in inflation, which affected different groups in the society, is not surprising. In the index for farm laborers, more emphasis was given to food grains. Inflation in 1991-92 and 1992-93 was caused mostly by the prices of food grains. In 1991-92, inflation in food grains was much higher than it was for other consumer goods.

People living in urban areas spend a major portion of their income on food grains and other necessary items. The affluent people in rural areas do not buy food grains and edible things from the market; therefore, their buying power is not affected by the price increases in food grains. The urban rich spend considerably less on food grains than on other consumer goods. They spend more money on durable goods and other consumer goods. The prices of these have not increased much during the last three years.

Differences in Price Increases

The differences in price increases among different groups in society is only half the story. The other half of the story relates to income differences. According to the consumer expenditure survey of the SMS in 1987-88, 50.87 percent of the rural population is classified as either "poor" or "very poor." Most of these rural poor are farm laborers. The increase in the price index actually decreases their already low real income. Because the income of most of India's people remains unchanged, there is not much of an effect on the rate of inflation, as in South America, where the inflation rate fluctuates between 10 and 20 percent.

About 17 percent of India's labor force is in the organized sector. Among office workers, it is 70 percent, and the number of people working in higher positions is only 10 percent of the total labor force. The organized labor force and the rural and urban rich combine to make the middle class market. It would be wrong to assume that the organized labor force is not affected by inflation just because their dearness allowance is tied to the consumer price index. It is noteworthy that as the result of the slowness of Indian production during the last three years, many factories are being closed, laborers are not being paid, and temporary and permanent layoffs of employees are also being announced. Industrial laborers have joined the level of the poorer groups. Many laborers in the organized labor force were forced into self-employment or to work on daily wages in urban areas.

The dearness allowance paid to government employees or those working for major industrialists or multinational companies changes periodically. Their dearness allowance is tied to the consumer price index; however, the upper-middle class people who work for the government do not benefit by the increase in the dearness allowance, because the amount of increase is added to their provident fund. This has resulted in a lower living standard.

Benefits to Nonresident Indians

The rich farmers and rural landlords benefit from inflation through different means. They benefit not only from an increase in the price of food grains, but they also invest their savings in the stock market. The rural rich have not only entered our nation's money market, but will be able to enter the international market later. Those who work at mid-level jobs in non-government organizations also benefit from salary increases, but they are not able to make up the loss caused by inflation. Non-resident Indians and those related to them have benefited greatly from the new economic policy. The government has decided to allow foreign investments of various types and is helping non-resident Indians and their relatives. Those who are involved in the commodities market have also earned a lot of wealth. Despite slow industrial production, the securities market is rising rapidly and is attracting investments from abroad. Professionals and self-employed people have increased their income gradually. The income of the upper-class has also increased, as hoped. It is important to change the market according to a strategy, in order to consume the expensive goods produced in India and to help sell the products and services imported from abroad.

GATT Signing Said To Encourage Neo-Imperialism

94AS0306B New Delhi JANSATTA in Hindi
1 Jun 94 p 4

[Article by Baldev Vanshi: "GATT Is an Invitation to Economic and Cultural Slavery"]

[Text] If we look at 1950, we will find that billions of dollars have been transferred from the lower income nations to the upper income nations in the name of trade agreements. After buying clothes, coffee, cocoa, and copper at low rates and selling machinery and cars at high prices, they have made a lot of money. The situation should be to the contrary. In other words, the prices of basic products like clothes and coffee should be high. The rich nations, without asking the debtor underdeveloped nations, have increased the rate of interest on their loans. In addition, food grains have been purchased at very low rates from the debtor nations under various conditions imposed on them. This has resulted in famine in those countries. Food grains have become very dear there because of such unfair economic practices. India and many other countries have become the prey of such practices. This economic colonialism is the modern

method of controlling the economies in developing nations. Countries like the United States of America have developed this system to serve their interests. Because of these countries and their methods, third world countries are suffering from deaths caused by famine, ignorance, and other similar problems. GATT supporters are still giving the same argument that the aggressor nations gave when they sent armed forces to a country in the name of peace. Under this style of operation, multinational companies are sending out groups of salesmen. In other words, they are using the excuse of bringing prosperity and increasing trade. Various proposals, such as the Dunkel Proposal, come under the GATT agreement. This will hurt Indian society, and we will not be able to control it later. Those who are looking at only economic losses are worried by the thought of losing money.

The Indian nation has forgotten its special identity in the world, which is the specific quality of an enlightened civilization. It has forgotten the language of its expression of feeling. It has also forgotten its entire thought process, including creativity. What does it signify that we are accepting a foreign language but rejecting foreign goods or foreign companies for economic reasons? The Swadeshi movement is also being managed without incorporating the demand of Indian languages.

The present situation of Indian society is very strange. What were the reasons for the anti-Dunkel campaign that spread across the nation? What did the groups, platforms, or parties that opposed it want? How much real thought is behind this opposition? It was very difficult for me to understand this, and it looked ridiculous. The parameters of thorough thinking and focusing with full attention were missing from the beginning. In other words, when we demand things, our thoughts are neither original nor reasonable. We do not think about the seed; instead, we think about the leaves of the tree, fruit, and branches. All national parties, regional parties, non-Congress governments, and even Congress state governments, as well as social and cultural organizations started signature campaigns against the government. This was done very well. It should have been done a long time ago. However, are the demands and hopes being expressed now a result of thorough thinking? In our opinion, these are only half-baked ideas and half-hearted efforts lie behind them.

In this situation, the writers in the present society are not the ones who hold the torch for the society. They are not even good models. They are not even worried about losing their role. The fact is that when a society rises because of its restlessness caused by all-consuming government policies and their weight, the politicians come in and destroy the whole movement. Then the writers, after reading and understanding the news, become active like a sycophant. Their relations with the society, commitment, and association is dependent on news reports. Their literature, energy, identity, and credibility is also of the same level. If any group has lost its dignity in the eyes of the society, then it is writers. Even now, their

truth-seeking eyes have not seen the fact of the Dunkel proposals and the flock of vultures coming behind these to India. Where are they?

We are not raising the issue of language without reason. There are deep roots of this problems. The loans we get from the World Bank are used for educating our intellectuals through English medium (which is the appropriate language for Europe and the United States) to make them engineers, doctors, and scientists and send them to serve in those countries. On the one side, this is an open theft of our intellectual property. In addition, we have to pay interest on that loan, interest on that interest, and later have to borrow more money just to pay the interest. Third, the Indian talent that is inventing and patenting new inventions in those countries, become the property of those countries. We do not have the right on the inventions made by our own people. Have not we invited the Great Destruction now by opening the doors to many multi-national companies? We should not forget that English is not just a language; it represents a whole culture. It is all set and to raise its flag all over the world.

In all of our states, it is not only languages that are great, ancient, and full of human pride that are being thrown out of their homes, but we are also forgetting the happiness, hope, esteem, self-reliance that were associated with the name of Bharat [India]. The English and their culture have forcibly supplanted us. We have created a group composed of middle-men, two-faced operatives, characterless lots, sycophants, beggars, and the handicapped. This group is exploiting the local people at every level and is not willing to consider them humans. The country of whom even its powerful neighbor France has been afraid for hundreds of years and has fought wars with, is allowed to send a cultural armada to our skies, earth, seas, mountains, jungles, falls, and rivers. We are handing over our whole society with its feelings, desires, loyalty, satisfaction, and empathy to them.

India's economy is mainly dependent on its natural resources. During the last four decades, these have been subjected to stupid, unplanned, and deceitful exploitation. The wealth of Indian villages and small towns has flown to the metropolis and the wealth of developing countries like India is going to economically developed countries. On the one side, these metropolis are becoming the blind wells of stench of life and polluters of epidemic proportions. On the other hand, the villages and small towns have been wasted and are helpless like a quadriplegic. Hundreds of thousands of people migrate from villages to cities to find work and just to earn two meals a day. With their move, we lose the strong beliefs inherent in the gods and goddesses worshipped in each home or villages, tulsi-choura [sacred plants], holidays, festivals, fairs, and familial closeness.

It is notable that the World Bank is helping implement harmful plans in developing countries like India. Lawrence Somers, the former World Bank economist, had told his senior employees, "should not the World

Bank encourage establishment of polluting industries in the less-developed countries," he was definitely announcing the present imperialist policy. The World Bank has been cooperating with the pollution-producing industries to move them to the third world countries. This way the rich and resourceful nations are devouring up the resources of the poorer nations, and are making the poor drink the poison of poverty, squalor, and pollution.

Indian civilization is the oldest living civilization in the world and it has inherited human decency. We have earned it by the devotion of centuries, and are bent upon giving it up within a few days because of our stupidity. Civilization is not a colored balloon flying in the sky; it is the very fine aroma of the world of humans. It is the adornment of human race. Indian civilization is strengthened by religious elements that support the highest human qualities. The Indian government is looking at the cultural heritage of such a rare breed with the eyes of a businessman. It is being regarded as way below economy and trade. Will they be ready to compromise it all just because multi-national companies will make the Indian people rich, put us on the pinnacle of technology and industry, and [in exchange] take away our cultural heritage? Is it civilization or materials that makes countries great? You have the liberty to view every live part of this country with the eyes of a consumer. You can trample over everything. You have the invitation of Indian leaders. We have no relationship with the trees, plants, rivers, and mountains of this nation. We do not even have a relationship with ourselves!

Behind the facade of open trade policies, the bulldozer of the Indian government's signature on the GATT document will trample the desires of the poor, unemployed, and desperate people of our nation. Such a despotic stand in the name of democracy is holding within it even worse results than the emergency period policies. Doordarshan is using people's money for one-sided propaganda to force this poison down their throats without any logical recognition, acceptance, or understanding. How can one trust Doordarshan and the government that are not only against the people's desires, interests, and wishes but also is offering nudity openly and mocking morality?

There was a time when they discussed literature on Doordarshan. Now Doordarshan has thrown the world's richest literary tradition in the corner so that no one catches it. Programs like the literary magazine and others are being neglected by changing their time slots to late at night. This program is begin shown only for 15 minutes and just once a fortnight, instead of for one hour every week.

All in all, where once there used to be thought and humanity in policy making, the Indian mind, Indian cultural traditions, and concern for Indian villages and small towns has been replaced by materialism. Even humans are being changed into materialists. This is the

result of rotting Western thought. Otherwise, the situation still could be salvaged. We must change our thought. The whole country should think in Indian languages. If [the people] speak, they will learn how to participate in every project, however, the "publishers" do not want it. The villagers must be brought to the place of thinking again so that we do not need another Dunkel. The whole country will speak in its mother tongue like they do in Russia and Japan. [Then this country] can make so much progress in a few years that it will challenge the U.S. economy just like China is doing now.

CPM Accused of Election Rigging, 'Terrorism'

94P50157A Calcutta SAPTAAHIK BARTAMAN
in Bengali 28 May 94 pp 9-10

[Excerpt from article by Pulkesh Ghosh, Gopal Mitra, Anmay Mallik, Sudip Ghosh, Debanjan Das and Tarun Das: "How is CPM Spreading Rigging Throughout Municipal Elections?"]

[Excerpt] In recently concluded municipal elections, [CPM] Communist Party of India-Marxist] again showed how they play the game. They were engaged in every imaginable form of trickery, including pre-printed ballots, booth jams [preceding words in English] and in making threats. Then there was the cruel murder of Congress candidate Uday Chakravarti in Shiliguri by armed CPM militants. Our young reporters have researched the spread of CPM rigging terrorism in several municipalities. This essay is the report of that investigation.

Before understanding whether or not it would benefit them, Shiliguri's residents asked to become a municipality in the way Calcutta and Howrah are. Shiliguri was proud in getting this status. Now they had become another Calcutta. Now, they have indeed become another Calcutta with election related terrorism experience to prove it.

Strange events began occurring in Shiliguri right from the time of its designation as a municipality. It may not be easy, however, to prove that the aroma of election violence was brewing. Investigation is required. First, a couple of strange events occurred, with fire reducing the railway area to ashes. The rail colony had been built by CPM over the last 20 years, yet had Congress supporters. The first night saw 40 stores burned which were run by known Congress supporters.

The second incident occurred behind the Cooperation Officer's house. The house, located in the 18th ward, is a CPM ward. There are some BJP [Bharatiya Janata Party] supporters there also. A huge slum filled with CPM supporters is located near there. These slum dwellers were demanding that homeowners let their property be used as a thoroughfare. A non-Bengali gentleman disagreed with their demand. CPM approved an attack by these hoodlums on his house to teach him a lesson.

In this way, CPM prepared for the upcoming election. In neighborhood after neighborhood, CPM distributed favors and money to individuals and shop owners who supported them. Even then, CPM did not feel secure [about the election result]. They threatened individuals who were not supporters. Congress has no real organization to speak of there. Yet individuals such as Shankar Malik and Palash Nandi were threatened in broad daylight for being Congress supporters. This type of silent terrorism went on all over the place. Uday Chakravarti of ward 7 had to pay the ultimate price for not having been informed, his life.

In the coal depot area were many people close to Uday who regarded him as their own. He was well liked and CPM tried to recruit him. Others in the area refused CPM bribes. On the night before the election, unruly elements started an incident in the marketplace. Uday, upon hearing of this, went to offer his assistance. He helped chase away the goons. What followed was certainly according to a well-devised plan. In the middle of the night Uday was awakened by a phone call and told that the goons were threatening guards at the coal depot. He answered, "I'm coming, use force if necessary." He then got on his scooter but was accosted by youths with knives. This is how he met his end.

It is clear that this brutal murder was a preplanned attack. Our investigation reveals that no one known to him called and that the incident was contrived. What took place was a planned operation to execute Uday Chakravarti. The incident is consistent with CPM methods of getting their way. [passages omitted on CPM rigging practices, including alteration of voter's lists]

Chief Minister Laloo Yadav Downfall Forecast

By-Election Turning Point

94AS0302A New Delhi JANSATTA in Hindi
3 Jun 94 p 4

[Article by Priyaranjan Bharati: Vaishali Raised a New Question"]

[Text] Lovely Anand's victory has totally destroyed Laloo Yadav's political equation. The people who were angry at Laloo Yadav's political style have let him know in the Vaishali election that the political geography of Bihar will change during the next election. There will be far-reaching results from this change. The Vaishali elections have become a subject of symbolic discussion by the groups that were oppressed by Laloo Yadav's political style. The center of this discussion is Lovely Anand Singh, wife of Anand Mohan.

Laloo Yadav was left alone in this election. Even until the last minute, he continued to kick around the issue of political justice in various ways. Severe steps were taken which diverted the votes of higher castes, especially land-owning castes, toward Congress Party candidates. Laloo Yadav made his weakness known by inviting V. P. Singh, who was already upset, and Ram Vilas Paswan

during the last days of the election. Laloo Yadav was not totally alone in the Vaishali election; the Mishra camp of the Congress Party was secretly supporting him. This practice started when Dr. Mishra convinced the high command to make Usha Singh the candidate. Even until the last minute of the election campaign, Dr. Mishra tried to ensure that landowners' votes did not go to Lovely Anand, and tried to strengthen Laloo Yadav's arithmetic of votes. The chief minister has been trying to create such an atmosphere that his candidate would compete directly against Congress (I) candidate Usha Singh. The veteran leaders and Cabinet members wary of Laloo Yadav's political style were trying to make the chief minister lose face. When V.P. Singh's Mandal [movement for a reservation system based upon caste] weapon forced the young people of the nation to burn in the fire of frustration and retaliation, Laloo Yadav and his right hand man, Pappu Yadav, insulted the Rajputs and Brahmins in Saharsa and Madhepura. Legislator Anand Mohan became famous because of the reaction of Rajputs and Brahmins at that time, and emerged as a political strategist against Laloo Yadav in Bihar. In the Vaishali election, Anand Mohan's wife symbolized those counter-attacks, and other backward castes were also tied into this polarization. The sharp strategy of the vote bank had forced even a strong supporter like Pappu Yadav to desert Laloo Yadav and join Mulayam Singh Yadav.

Political pundits believe that the results of the Vaishali election will effect changes in the state's political geography rapidly. The chief minister, who had insulted such legislators and ministers as Nitish Kumar, Varishan Patel, Vijay Karishan, Devender Yadav, and dozens of others, even when losing the election in Vaishali, refused to say he would give up politics after being addicted to it. But if Kishori Sinha had won, his dictatorial style would have taken deeper roots. His defeat will give more strength to the higher and lower castes now deserting him in northern and central Bihar. Both the Kurmi and Koiri castes are extremely angry at Laloo Yadav, and Nitish Kumar, who wants to keep this public support in his own camp and is trying to separate himself from Laloo Yadav. Ramlakhan Yadav, who deserted the Janata Dal to become chief minister here, had been asking many legislators if they would desert the Janata Dal to join the Congress. Can Nitish Kumar, who grew up in an atmosphere of anti-Congress sentiment find a way to join the BJP [Bharatiya Janata Party] with the help of Jayaprakash movement foot soldiers? If this happens, then Laloo Yadav will receive still another shock. Nitish Kumar had been speaking like an expert critic of the Bihar government recently. In one context he said, "Bihar was never in such bad economic shape in the past. All the money promised for various projects is being spent on non-developmental projects. If the state government does not have money, then where does all the money go? It should issue a white paper to take the people in confidence."

Both Congress and the BJP have their eyes on the backwards and the Dalits. The Congress (I), however,

has not emerged from the crisis of Jagannath politics. The Yadav caste, after leaving Laloo Yadav, will not join the "lion of Bihar," Ramlakhan Yadav. However, Central Chemical Minister Ramlakhan Yadav says of the Vaishali election, "The political equation in Bihar has changed because of Lovely Singh's victory. When elections are held for the other 324 Vidhan Sabha seats, the situation will deteriorate even further. The Janata Dal will not get more than 50 or 60 seats; it will be the Congress (I) that forms the government. People are fed up with Laloo Yadav. There are some Congress Party members who are thinking about themselves and not the party. They will be left behind in the Congress Party's efforts to expand itself." But Tariq Anwar, another Congress (I) leader, says that leadership of the Bihar Congress should be in the hands of a backward candidate, not the hands of a Yadav, to direct the backwards, Dalits, and Muslims. "It is a must that we separate Jagannath Mishra from us."

The results of the Vaishali election should be evaluated by the attitude of the voters—not only high caste voters, but also lower caste voters, did not vote for Laloo Yadav's candidate, Kishori Sinha. They gave a clear signal that the four years of Laloo Yadav's government have left no positive impact on them. Mr. Subodh Kant, former state home minister, says, "The results of the Vaishali elections are not related to the unity of Rajputs, landlords, and Brahmins. It would be a mistake to look at it this way. The sand castles that Laloo Yadav built have been totally destroyed. The prestige of the Janata Dal has been lost in the eyes of the backwards and the Dalits also." Recently the BJP, which has been busy with internal strife, used political justice as an excuse to lure the tribals and the Dalits, who are disillusioned with the Janata Dal. The BJP made several plans to this end. The main effort in this chain was the Paswan rally held in Patna on 27 June. The BJP legislators in the Rajah Sabha, Janardan Yadav and Kameshwar Paswan, say, "The effects of the Vaishali election will be very powerful on Bihar's politics. The higher castes are with the BJP. The backwards are angry at Laloo Yadav. Laloo Yadav's threats are still working among the Dalits and the tribals. The BJP is trying to pull this support to itself. Everybody knows about our strength in southern Bihar. If we are successful in keeping the backwards, the Dalits, and the angry higher castes in northern and central Bihar with us, then tomorrow will be ours."

What results will come from this exercise and polarization of the political party, only the next Vidhan Sabha election can tell. Rajni Ranjan Sahu of the Congress Party says that the backwards are looking up to the Congress Party. Govind Acharaya, general secretary of the BJP, says, "Our party can form coalitions with other parties by keeping the Congress out of the circle. This is a major indicator."

Future Leadership in Doubt

by SURENDRA KISHORE, Delhi JANSATTA in Hindi Edition

[Article by Surendra Kishore: "Vaishali Has Produced Speculation About Laloo's Future"]

[Text] Patna, 31 May—Is the Janata Dal defeat in the Vaishali election the beginning of Laloo Prasad Yadav's fall? The victory of a regional party in the Vaishali Lok Sabha election district has initiated discussions on this question. Only time will give an accurate answer to this question; however, there are some clear political points visible resulting from the election.

The Janata Dal's Rajput candidate Kishori Sinha's defeat in her home district has made it clear that Laloo Yadav's efforts to attract Rajputs have failed. He wanted to create a strong vote bank for himself with the support of Yadavs, Muslims, Harijans, and Rajputs. The Yadavs and Muslims deserted the Janata Dal even in Vaishali. Harijans also sympathized with Laloo Yadav. Not even 10 percent of the Rajput vote, however, went to the Janata Dal.

The Vaishali election has made it clear that non-Yadav backward groups do not have their old zeal for Laloo Yadav anymore. In 1991 Shivsharan Singh, the Janata Dal candidate, received 346,000 votes here, and Kishori Sinha only got 221,000 votes this time. The Janata Dal, which is in the government now, tried using as many kinds of tricks in the Bihar election as it could. In many places, the actions of the "government caste" Yadav made the people of other castes wary of them. What is worse, a Yadav legislator in the Janata Dal has forcibly taken over the house of former legislator Shivsharan Singh. This also influenced Vaishali.

Still, the Janata Dal candidate in this high-caste majority district managed to get 221,000 votes. Laloo Yadav is happy about this, at least on the outside. He said that his vote bank of backwards and minorities is still there. He also said that his party was betrayed from the inside. "The vulgar comments within the press also spread rumors about us. Still, he managed to get many votes. We are victorious even in this defeat."

The angry comments of the Janata Dal believe that the backward vote is also deserting Laloo Yadav. Some of them also believe that Laloo is not in a position to attract votes now. Therefore, they have started to meet in small groups to discuss their future. Since the Janata Dal defeat in Vaishali, the anti-Laloo leaders have accelerated their activities in the Janata Dal. Legislator Nitish Kumar is the leader of the anti-Laloo activities. He refused to participate in the election campaign in Vaishali. We noticed a crowd at Nitish Kumar's house in Patna. After the results of the Vaishali election were revealed, there was disappointment in the chief minister's residence. Fanned to this, the people present at Nitish Kumar's home were happy. The people are waiting for his next step.

The Vaishali election has given "political exile" to the old Rajput leader, Satyender Narayan Sinha, and his family. Anand Mohan has become the leader of the Rajputs. He is only a legislator, and has many cases against him, including a murder case. It should be known that Lovely Anand is his wife. There have been debates in political circles that a leader like Anand Mohan with a criminal background is emerging as an important figure in Bihar. Is this a good thing or a bad one? A strong anti-Laloo group says, "Poison kills poison." The number of major criminals Laloo Yadav has established respectfully in politics cannot be paralleled by anyone. The Janata Dal has sent many dangerous criminals to work against those who supported Anand Mohan in Vaishali.

Meanwhile, rumors are rampant about the Vidhan Sabha election being moved up. Because of the large scale transfer of IAS officers, rumors are gathering momentum. It was learned that the Bihar government has suddenly transferred 41 IAS and 24 DM officers. Those who had been appointed as collectors at the district level include some supporters of "social justice." Seeing the tendency to use high officials in elections, these transfers are being considered very important.

The Vaishali election made national parties like the BJP and Congress look like dwarfs. This situation of these national parties resulted because of Anand Mohan's strong opposition to Laloo Yadav. It should be known that Usha Singh of the Congress Party only got 12,000 votes, and that Suresh Sharma of the BJP received 7,000. Lovely Anand of the Bihar People's Party received 240,000 votes. In 1991, Usha Singh of the Congress Party received 236,000 votes. Chief Minister Laloo Yadav said, "Lovely Anand's victory in Vaishali is the victory of feudal and criminal elements. We always have to face feudal and criminal elements in Vaishali, Begusarai, and Mahajanganj. We are going to be victorious in other seats. When feudal elements unite, it results in the unity of the poor masses."

Another Congress faction is happy about Lovely Anand's victory, especially the faction that needs the Rajput-landlord vote for winning the election. Anand Mohan was successful in uniting Rajputs and landlords in Vaishali. Lovely Anand said, "Democracy has won in Vaishali, and Laloo Prasad should resign as chief minister." Uma Bhurati, the BJP legislator, went as far as saying that the beginning of Laloo Prasad's end has started in Vaishali. Dr. Jagannath Misra, the Congress legislator, is demanding that the Bihar Vidhan Sabha elections be held soon. It should be noted that his Vidhan Sabha term will expire next March. Dr. Misra said that Laloo Yadav said that the Vaishali bi-elections will give the people's mandate to his government. Now this people's mandate is against Laloo Yadav. Mohammed Hidayatullah Khan, president of the Bihar Congress, does not believe that the results of the next election in Bihar will make the national parties unimportant. He said that the results of the Vaishali election were local and timely in nature. He did grant, however,

that the anti-Laloo groups considered Anand Mohan to be a solid leader. Meanwhile, many Congress leaders in Vaishali have filed a show cause notice against those leaders who had supported Lovely Anand.

Protecting Own Interests

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1 Jun 94 p 7

[News Report: "Laloo Should do Self-Analysis—Nitish Kumar"]

[Text] Patna, 31 May—After the defeat in Vaishali there was quiet before a major storm hit the Janata Dal. A lot of despair was reflected in the corridors of power.

Nitish Kumar, the Janata Dal legislator, is camping in Patna. All eyes are focused on him. Nitish Kumar is staying at his government residence in the New Punaichak area, near the Patna secretariat. There is a long line of people coming to see him there. These people include Janata Dal legislators, ministers, and workers.

JANSATTA tried to feel him out this evening. Nitish Kumar, who is a very serious person, looked very relaxed today. When we discussed Vaishali, he said, "Laloo-prasad should do a self-analysis now. The warning that the Vaishali election results have given him is something he should understand, and if he does not take action to rectify the problem, then he will be hurt even more." Laloo is calling his defeat in Vaishali a victory. He said that his own vote was solid there. Pointing to this statement, Mr. Kumar said that it was wrong. His party has lost 100,000 votes. Why did he lose votes? In response to this question, Mr. Kumar said, "The victory in Bihar in 1991 was a victory on issues. At that time all the backwards were with the party. Later, Laloo started MY (Muslims and Yadavs). This made the backwards think that the Janata Dal was not taking care of them. They were being considered second class citizens here. They lost their zeal for the party. This was evident in the Vaishali bi-election. Laloo Yadav has changed MY now to MYR (Muslims, Yadavs, Rajputs). The people refuse to accept it."

The Janata Dal legislator was asked what steps should be taken after the party's defeat in Vaishali. He responded that he had written to Laloo Yadav a few days earlier but had received no response. About nine months earlier, he advised Laloo to print a white paper about the economic situation in Bihar so that the people could learn the real facts. "Laloo, however, did not follow up. We have not done anything for the backwards who voted us into government."

Mr. Kumar's attention was brought to the fact that he is not only a legislator, but also a national leader of the party. Should not the party's high command put pressure on Laloo Yadav? Mr. Kumar responded, "Why are you asking me? You know there is no high command. This is a one-man leadership and one-man show here."

Did Laloo Yadav contact you after the Vaishali election? In response, he said, "Not yet." When asked why he was silent, he responded, "Now, how can I be a silent spectator? We formed this party after a lot of blood and sweat." Is there any discussion about Laloo as an option in the party? "We have not arrived at that stage yet," he said.

Meanwhile, Kishori Sinha, who lost the election in Vaishali, issued a press statement and congratulated all the poor, the backwards, the Dalits, and the minorities, for helping the Janata Dal with so much zeal. She assured them that the people who did not support them in the election would admit their mistakes later. At the same time, she also expressed concern that some people were encouraging violence.

Gandhian Understanding of Swadeshi Said Lost

94AS0301A New Delhi JANSATTA in Hindi
28-31 May 94

[Serialized Article by Ram Bahadur Ray and Om Prakash: "This Is What the Gandhian Society Is Thinking"]

[28 May pp 1, 5]

[Text] New Delhi, 27 May—Is the concept of swadeshi (using locally produced goods) a dream? Can Mayawati or Kanshi Ram change their minds about breaking the statue of the Mahatma of this country [Mohandas Gandhi]? How can they wish victory to Mehmood Gazanvi? Are these indicators of some future turmoil? If so, then is there a way to protect the nation from chaos?

These questions are bothering the people, just as they are bothering Gandhi supporters. But there is nothing sensational about them. Famous Gandhian philosopher Dharam Pal says that things happen in cycles: They start, emerge, and then disappear; then they start all over again. Those concepts neither get popular approval, nor are they totally rejected. Gandhi and Gandhism have faced such attacks continuously since 1920. The westernized Jawaharlal Nehru and international powers joined in 1944 to push Mahatma Gandhi aside. The swadeshi efforts in 1920 were broken immediately. But they were not satisfied with this alone. They attacked Gandhi in retaliation. Even Gandhi's own people could not come forward in his defense, because Gandhi himself failed to provide another model of swadeshi. He could not find the time to prepare a model. The one that was made was just like a house of cards. What about the Congress Party? This party, which was established to make pro-English Indians partners in the government and to pacify Indians who were angry against the British, was structured in such a way that it never could oppose Western influence. If we leave out Gandhi's 20-year campaign, in which swadeshi and self dependence were encouraged, then nothing else is left. Its whole structure was based on a Western model. It was founded on the concept that the West is better.

They say that it is not new when Kanshi Ram says that Mehmood Gazanvi was the messiah of the Dalits. In 1951, Dr. Ambedkar accused the British of deception at a Ludhiana election meeting. He said the British arrived in India without an army, formed an army of our people, and established their empire. We were all left the way we were. Kanshi Ram is repeating Ambedkar's line of thought following the concept of cyclical changes. What has been happening since 1947-1948 is still going on. Mr. R. K. Patil asked, "What is the complaint? The growing concern is that what they inherited from the British is what they are following now."

Members of the [VSS] Varanashram Swarajya Sangh went to Britain in 1933. Mr. M. A. Jaykar said at the time that independence was necessary, because until we established our own government, we could not make progress and reform our society. Many people before Jaykar must have said the same thing. This whole model is for Westernization. This talk about removing bad practices and making progress belongs to the same category. The founder of independent India selected this very model. Jaykar had written his memoirs until 1926. He went to a village in Maharashtra and wrote that it was as beautiful as a village in Scotland. He could find only Scotland to use as a metaphor. The mentality which we can call Indian just was not there. There is no clear definition; however, this mentality just never ends. Even in Europe, this kind of mentality has gone away. A lot of violence and killings have happened there. New invaders continue to show up. They settled and then got assimilated. They did not form groups. Only automation took place. Plato went as far as to say that a child should not know about his father. Otherwise, extended families are formed. Aristotle said that slaves are kept to do the work. If there are machines to do the work, then slaves are not necessary. The idea of a machine came to his mind. The strategy of the Western society follows this concept. Our Anglophile community has fallen in love with it.

Why should we worry about the problems caused by Kanshi Ram in one part of our country? Chandra Shekhar is hinting that he [Kanshi Ram] is conspiring with the forces that want to break up India. Ashok Singhal is talking about his possibly joining the Christian missionaries. Why are they worried about such a conspiracy? Mr. Dharam Pal says that it is possible that there is such a conspiracy. But such things do not start with foreign conspiracies. They are started by forces in our own society which follows from historical reasons. Ambedkar also said the same thing as Kanshi Ram and other historians. Part of our society is convinced that a society in which they are not partners can break up, and it does not matter to them. If someone cannot help them from within, then maybe someone from outside will come and help. Kanshi Ram is not an issue here. The issue is very profound. Many symbols, statues, and beliefs in this society are in agreement, and many are not. The society is united in some places and divided in others. Now the constitution created by the man [Ambedkar] is moving around in circles, just like an

indispensable object. We have not learned anything from history. In the past, we used to satisfy ourselves by saying it was an act of God. Now we look at it empirically. Yet we have not analyzed these numbers.

Ambedkar and Kanshi Ram are saying the same things because the relationships have not changed. If they do change, then it is not made public. There have been economic changes in the "Independent India Company;" however, the social relationships are still the same. Ambedkar came to India in 1915-16 and started to work in Baroda, but he could not find a home to live in. He began to face problems from the very first day. Many times, he tried to project his own personal problems as those of the society. Perhaps he did not remember his own problems as a child. He stood up for the society until 1940, or perhaps until 1946. He did not make the fact that he was standing up for his society a secret. He asked what would be done with the rest of India. "Why should we think about the rest of India? They have to save their own people. Will they have to ask help from Japan instead of Mohammed Tughlak to protect their own people? Why not?"

Will not the country move away from unity if symbolic figures like Kanshi Ram fall? He says that the system is falling apart, and the structure is crumbling; therefore, some people wrongly believe that the country is disintegrating. They think the failure of the system means disintegration of the country. There is a limit to all such cycles. Gandhi knew the sphere of Ambedkar's influence, and also his limitations. Both of them were not unaware of the trend in history; however, their basic worries were different. In 1946, Gandhi wrote to Patel about Ambedkar, "Ambedkar does not understand the difference between truth and untruth." But he said he wanted to continue his talks with him. He was also alert to Ambedkar's influence. He keeps a check on Ambedkar both in political and social spheres. The statement that Ambedkar issued in 1942 and the 40 to 50 page communique he sent to the secretary of state resulted in the latter that the secretary of state wrote to the viceroy, "Until now, we only had the Muslim card; now, we have a new card." On the margin, the under-secretary commented that this card was very weak, and that Gandhi had already used it. It is true that what was written in the margin never reached the viceroy. There were limits. Two months later, the secretary of state sent a note saying that Ambedkar was a very smart man, but that the people with him were not very effective. If they had accepted Islam or Christianity, he claimed, then perhaps they could be helped somewhat.

Does it mean that the work that could not be done at that time is being looked at some now? Mr. Dharam Pal believes that the eyes of the external forces would naturally be focused on such social weakness. Keeping an eye on these is one thing, though, the real issue is the internal feelings of the society. The way Kanshi Ram is trying to remember Mehmood Gazanvi to save his social group is something that other social groups can also follow up on. The social structure has led to a specific

kind of mentality among the people. This mentality does not necessarily belong to Ambedkar. Other people have also done the same, especially in Madras and Bangalore. When, in the 18th century, they felt that they were losing, they started to collaborate with the British.

This collaboration was not very different. The way Kanshi Ram says it is very ugly. Their style was more classic. Kanshi Ram has not long been in public life; therefore, he talks awkwardly. If he stays in politics for 18-20 years, then he will acquire a lot of skill in making statements like this.

[29 May pp 1, 10]

[Text] New Delhi, 28 May—Did the British use the Indian intellectual group as their defensive wall by westernizing them? When the time came to transfer power, did not they place it in the hands of people who were westernized? Were these the people who had no interest in making a national model for putting the country on a developmental path? Was the process of transfer of the government also used as an instrument? Was Nehru helping the British in this effort? Maybe he remained unmasked because of his power and his fundamental skills in managing the government.

Gandhian philosopher Dharam Pal says that the British used Indian intellectuals for politics. In 1920, the secretary of state wrote to the viceroy that they should not trust the landlord group to protect them, and that they should use the intellectual group for this purpose. This work was given to the intellectual group in the last part of the 18th century. Seeing the viewpoint of the people in this country, the British were never assured of protection of their regime here. In 1830, Metcalf recommended that a large number of British people be brought to India, saying: "It is true that the people here are not loyal and cannot be trusted. If they find the right situation, they will throw off the garb of loyalty, and we will then be in deep trouble." That is what happened in 1920. The British focused all their effort on the people who accepted the British system to take care of various political groups. These were the groups that could be beaten up when necessary, and at times, one could sit with them and drink tea. After all, Moti Lal Nehru used to play tennis with the governor.

Let us look at 1942. One minister in the British government, Roosevelt, said in August 1942 that it would be the British who would decide the time for a transfer of power, and that even at that time, they must make sure that India remained under Western influence after its independence. The Chinese foreign minister called India an Asian nation. Roosevelt challenged him and said that India was part of the European community and was Britain's cousin. This relationship has taken root in the minds of our educated people for some time now. The numbers of such people has increased gradually. People like Nirad Chowdhary [Indian intellectual living in the U.K.] are such cousins.

Where did Gandhi fail in establishing swadeshi and the Indian system? Where did he make a mistake? Dharam Pal says that the five percent of Anglicized people who started Indian politics in the last part of the 18th century asked for a share of the government, and the British started to think that the British mentality was higher than the British themselves. It was taken for granted that we had been slaves and had depended on others for more than 1,000 years. The demand for a share of power was also an admission of inferiority. Mahatma Gandhi forced this group out of the political mainstream in 1920. Some went underground, some retired from public life, some became liberals. However, most became members of the Congress Party. They were scared by Gandhi's power and charisma. Some of them may have planned on allowing him to use his charisma for a short time. They remained on the margin until 1940. After that, they pushed Gandhi aside. We can imagine Gandhi's hopelessness against these elements. It is written in Sushila Nayar's diary. In 1943, when Gandhi went to jail, he said that he would be out of jail soon. Later he changed his mind, saying that he would stay in jail for seven years. He was not willing to come out in 1944. It took him two to three months to make a decision for the future. Gandhi was programmed like this. He used to do things this way. What was Nehru thinking about him in the Ahmed Nagar jail? Merely that he would go on another fast. That is the Gandhian model that was created in Nehru's mind based on what he had seen in the past. In 1943-44, it was not only Gandhi who felt that he was alone; others were also feeling this way. Those who worshiped the British system could not deprive Gandhi of his greatness, but Gandhi was extradited by them.

At the same time, the swadeshi card also became weak. Why did this happen? Dharam Pal believes that the structure of Congress that Gandhi had developed was not appropriate for this purpose. Gandhi himself had drafted the structure of Congress in 1920. This structure showed the membership at the bottom, followed by district, state, and then the All India Committee. This was to be headed by the president. The final decision rested at the top position. The opinions of those below the top position were also recognized. The country was at the bottom, with the leadership at the top. The model of government had become the model of the Congress Party. It had all the collectors, commissioners, and the governor in the model. Gandhi felt that he could fight the British only by having a model that was just like theirs, so a similar model was created, and the people working in this model were also like that.

In this struggle, Nehru is the symbol of the Western model. Gandhi also considered him as such. He also believed that Nehru could be changed. He thought that Nehru must win in order to defeat the Western model. If Nehru won, then everyone could win. He was sure of victory; however, he never got this victory. Gandhi could not understand the interference of international powers properly. He believed that foreign powers would not

interfere, and that everything would remain as it was. But after 1944, these forces pushed Gandhi onto the margins.

What about Nehru? In 1945, Nehru flatly said that he never considered Gandhi's song about swadeshi worth paying attention to. The Congress Party had also given up talk about swadeshi in 1937. Nehru had become a major leader by that time. Gandhi was basically fighting a civilizational war; however, his main goal was to win independence. He had to make compromises as he moved forward. His helplessness was the helplessness of a military commander who did not want his army to disintegrate. He believed that he had to take everyone with him in the war, and that he would take care of everything after winning independence. He did not reduce his efforts to keep in check the westernized people and their leader, Nehru. He established the Gandhi Seva Sangh. This organization looked for means to put pressure on westernized factions. In 1938, when Nehru was going abroad, he started his attacks against the Sangh, that it was involved in politics. Later, Subash Chandra Bose's lobby became strong, and Mahatma Gandhi had to suspend the Sangh in 1940. He did not close it totally, however, and said that there might be a need to revive the organization. The greatest pressure on Gandhi was from Tagore. Subash Bose wanted to establish a national planning committee, and Nehru wanted to be its president. Then Meghnad Saha joined them and discussed it with Tagore. Tagore talked with Gandhi, and Nehru became president of the organization. As a result, the Western model of development influenced Congress policy. He [Gandhi] finally declared Nehru his successor. In the 1940 Congress Working Committee meeting, Gandhi wanted his own people to unilaterally win against Bose and company. One-third of these people supported Nehru. Gandhi was forced to declare Nehru his successor in order to get their support. The real game was played later. A few days later, newspaper reporters visited Gandhi and made him say the words they wanted to hear by asking him many questions. This was brought into the record this way. Nehru remembered it, and whenever there was an opportunity, he would bring the 1944 talks to the surface.

As long as Gandhi was in power, everyone was in control; however, when he lost power, the whole situation changed. In 1927 Nehru returned from his stay abroad and was presented with the proposal for independence. There had been challenges to Gandhi's swadeshi program since 1920. Gandhi was surprised, and they both exchanged letters in January 1928. Gandhi challenged him to a face-to-face confrontation and wrote the article "Independence vs. Autonomy." He knew who he was going to fight and was trying to teach them a lesson. The situation did not end right there. What about the others? If I may speak frankly, I would say that Nehru and his supporters have been taking advantage of Gandhi for the last 50 years. They attacked him repeatedly and never gave up efforts to insult him. Their war against Gandhi is still going on.

[30 May p 10]

[Text] New Delhi, 28 May—Is it necessary to analyze our history for the last two to three centuries to understand swadeshi and our country? Cannot we find the truth without such a major operation? What will happen if one after another all cerebral great people are slighted? Gandhian philosopher Dharam Pal has no objection to carrying out this task. He considers it necessary in order to establish better human, social, economic, and political relations in this country.

Where was the conspiracy? Bentik said in 1830, "Our efforts have influenced the Indian people. The people have adopted British ways and broken away from their own tradition." The Anglophile group was spending money on European types of entertainment. By 1870, this Anglophile group thought; since we live like the British, speak like them, and discuss politics and philosophy like them, why do not the British give us a somewhat equal status? Richard Temple wrote in 1980-82 that this happened "because the Indian people were subjects. They have become experts and are showing off their expertise. Now we should teach some science and put them back in their proper position."

Meanwhile a major portion of the society, however, strongly opposed British rule and the British system. They wanted India to remain Indian. Around 1870, a very strong demonstration was carried out against cow slaughter. According to the then-viceroy, it was as strong as the 1857 war for independence. The queen wrote him a letter, telling him to be careful. To make sure that this campaign was only against the British, since only the British ate beef. Similar campaigns were started in different parts of the country at that time. The Congress Party was established to divert these rebellions and destroy them, and also to satisfy the anglicized group and its demands for equality. The goal of ending the swadeshi movement is in the umbilical cord of the party.

The intellectual group, by accepting the superiority of the British, made the latter's work easier. The British, in order to justify their rule in India, began to talk about India being a slave for 1,000 years. How was India a slave for all this time? People like Gazanvi only came to loot India. The control of the Muslims started only in the 12th century. How extensive was this control, anyway? It was only in a small part of northern India, and in small pockets. It is not true that the people there had accepted their control fully, and that the Muslim regime had spread everywhere. The Muslims did not know how to control a colony by going to every district, as the British did. We can see the whole story until their rule ended. India did not go from the hands of Muslims to the hands of the British. It went from the hands of the Hindus. The Marathas gave India to the British. The rajahs in Bengal gave it to the British. Sirajudullah was a king in name only.

The British then cut us off in recent times also. They tried to tell us that in 2,000-3,000 years of social structure, no progress was made in India. While finding examples in our old religious books, they began to make decisions for the 18th century. They brought in wonderful [Western] experts on the Hindu religion. They decided that the oldest religion was the standard for this social system. They brought Manu to the fore, and at the same time, the Hindu Mahasabha was also established. With the emergence of the Hindu Mahasabha, the fear of the Dalits also surfaced. Was not there a clear picture of the Indian society in the 18th century? There was. Our research shows that even while in poverty, the wages for Indian laborers were higher than those for British laborers. After the full control in Bihar, a question arose in 1765 about what position should be taken on the farmers. At the time, they only contributed one-sixth to one-eighth of the total production to the landlord. In England, the landlords received half of the production from the sharecroppers. In order to receive half from the sharecroppers, they began to look for older texts. They finally found the answer during the Allaaddin Khilji era. In some questions and answers, the advisers are telling Khilji to demand 50 percent of production in taxes from the non-Muslims. This question and answer session during the Khilji era was presented as proof. They said that whenever there is a good government, the people pay 50 percent in taxes. When they give a sixth or an eighth part of their production, then the government cannot be good. In 1780-85, a Brahmin in Benares was accused of murder. This death occurred because of strangling. The council of scholars decided that a person like that should be given a dark stigma and be expelled from the country according to our traditions. The whole case was brought to William Jones in Calcutta, who was considered an expert on the Indian religion. He knew everything, but the religious scholars of our country did not know anything! He says this is wrong, and actually, in such cases, the people are branded with burning steel rods. He did not like the idea of such a stigma, because it was a common practice in England to brand people with burning irons. He was looking for a punishment of the same level. Therefore, he developed a model of regression. This model was very strong. I discussed this issue with J. P. and Lohia many times. They understood this game played by the British. Whenever they were on the stage, they would start saying from the first sentence, "Indian civilization is thousands of years old; however, we stopped making progress thousands of years ago."

What kind of Indian map was there in the 18th century British era? This depressed social system is a result of the stratification established by the British. We had separate castes, and they had their own traditions. Where did the Dalit group come from? Ambedekar writes that a representative group of Muslims met with British rulers. They told them that Hindus have three groups: the untouchables, Dalits, and high-caste people. Therefore, in the arithmetic of population, the Muslim population should be considered equal to the Hindus.

In the 1911 census, the British forced this social stratification. In a conference on education held in 1916-17, the question of social-educational backwardness was brought up. Later, the untouchables and the Dalits were combined to form a separate category known as the scheduled castes. During the 18th century, there were no more than five to seven castes that were untouchable in India. The Chamars were not untouchables. In the 1931 census, their population was equal to that of the Brahmins, and according to caste, these two are the largest population groups in India. Some Chandal, Bhangi, and Mehter groups were untouchables. The Bhangi and Mehter groups were only in northern India. In the 18th century, there was not much difference between various castes. They had their own social circles for marriage and other relations; however, all had an equal position in society, and all had an equal share in administration. It was the job of the perrier to resolve disputes in the village. His decision could not be challenged. The Mahars were responsible for protecting the village. If we look at their homes during the 18th century, they do not appear to be any less than Hindu homes. In some places, they are even better. They also worked in agriculture. If we point this out, people are shocked. I have learned that during the 18th century, among the educated in the south, 80 percent were non-Brahmins. Nanaji Deshmukh could not believe this. He asked, how was it possible? How would the Dalit leaders accept it? Nobody has ever told them about it.

[31 May p 10]

[Text] New Delhi, 30 May—Did Gandhi have other problems in addition to politics that made him unable to find a protected place for the swadeshi tree, a place that would prevent it from being hurt by people like Nehru, so that it could flourish? Could not this tree have been looked after by Sarvodaya, Gandhists, supporters of equal rights, socialists, humanists, and nationalists? Would not India have a different image now?

Gandhian philosopher Dharam Pal is alert about Gandhi. He also points to his flaws. He says that Gandhi's concept of villages was borrowed, and is mostly bookish. He learned about Indian villages by reading writers like Metcalf, and whatever he read was not very important. But his insight was extraordinary, and he was able to make anything he read or saw look very attractive. When he went to a meeting in London in 1891, he raised the issue of the importance of salt to India. He later said that the cow is worshiped there; it should not be slaughtered. These points were raised from his insight. Later he expanded on these. In a communique issued by the Natal Congress about Indians in South Africa, he wrote that they were great people, part of a thousands-year-old civilization. The same thousands of years old civilization! What happened in the recent past is forgotten here. Thus, the concept he had outlined for swadeshi was collected from many places and presented to the British. It was presented as a very strong proposal. He formed a

structure for it; however, he was always on the outside, and there were no roots. He had built a house of cards which was bound to fall.

As a result, the people who wore the dress of saints and also followed Gandhi's deadline prevented the swadeshi concept from growing. Mention of swadeshi was used only as a routine, like a mantra. The concept of swadeshi was not joined with the past, future, or the present appropriately. The Vinoba group talked about "village donations." Well, what happened in the past? Our people used to have villages. In 1964, people announced in Tanjore that there are 100 cooperative villages here. The concept of swadeshi was to be expressed in politics. We began to use it for economic expression. We use the word swadeshi for clothes only, and also to identify some edible oils. There was no mention of a structure, organization, or standards. The swadeshi should have had priority. If these priorities were decided, then ways had to be found to implement them. It was necessary to borrow some ideas for this purpose, and they should have done so. These ideas could have also been part of swadeshi. In 1905, the swadeshi movement surfaced in Bengal. If it took root, then there could have been some debates on it. People like Aurobindo gave some theoretical explanations of it. That is all.

We have to discuss questions of what swadeshi is and how to organize government and society for it. What are their mutual relationships, and what are the bases for these? We have to determine all these. We do not have any castes; there are too many divisions among them. In the 1911 census, the Jats in Punjab are in 1700 different categories. Perhaps these were 1700 different families. The families have been the basic unit—maybe not families, but tribes. Decisions are made in this unit. When these groups gather, they form a federation kind of structure. Decisions were made in various ways under this structure. There were the other needs of protecting 100 to 500 year old family groups, as well as foreign policy. Now our needs are different. Not much thought has been given to this, however. There is a practice of believing India has been like this, and that it will continue to remain so. We had the practice of living in small groups. There were many groups based on religion. It is not true that these groups had no relations with each other. They did not inter marry or eat with one other. But this does not mean that they considered each other to be below themselves. The differences stopped there. The people gathered for all other occasions and were organized.

The division by caste, which says that only Kshatriyas were to fight, could not have been implemented in the beginning. In the beginning, all people fought. They formed the structure after understanding this fact. The India of the 18th century was like this, and the structure was established like this, then swadeshi system could have been implemented in two or four generations. This is possible even today, but only by understanding that most people are strictly interested in worldly prosperity. They need it, and it can be given to them. Also, enemies

never leave you, and you must protect yourself from them. If discussions were held about materialistic structures (such as production), then we would have made a lot of progress. The accepted meaning of swadeshi, which is interpreted as purchasing things that are made in our country, will lose its meaning. If politicians and their administration do not accept this, then we cannot support them. In 1915-16, when Mahatma Gandhi started to talk about the spinning wheel, the spinning wheel was not common in Gujarat, while in states like Punjab, the spinning wheel was very popular from 1850-60. The research done on Indian industry does not say that the clothing industry was defeated because of an economic challenge. It suffered a political defeat because of the tax imposed on it.

If the present economic liberalization is being implemented according to a well thought-out strategy, then it can be successful. In 1850 Japan took this path, leading to a lot of turmoil for five to ten years. They also used the military in this process. Now it has defeated the United States in many areas. It has attained expertise in the world market. If we aim for similar expertise, then this new economic policy can be successful. But we have decided that we are low-class people. Because of this, we cannot trust our own mentality.

The voices raised against the new economic policy are not being heard. The reason for this is that those who are opposing it have not analyzed it fully. They do not have a model. The people are opposing multi-national companies, just as they did during the independence struggle. There are George Fernandes and Chandra Shekhar. What exactly was the East India Company? Was it a multinational company? Europe and the West are controlled by such companies. This is the system there. Should not we understand this? If Chandra Shekhar and George Fernandes had the definition of swadeshi and a model for it, then they would have debated it, and people would have thought about it. But this never happened, nor will it ever happen, because we never thought about making our administration and government swadeshi. First we should have decided our priorities; later, we could have borrowed whatever was needed. If we have the switch in our own hands, then even borrowing can be swadeshi. Right now we are getting everything from the West in packages.

We ignored the fact that when we borrow ideas and techniques, they have their own independent identity. All we did was focus on things that we needed for survival. During the 1940's, in the sub-committee on National Planning meeting in Wardha, Mr. Gandhi said that they should first determine the goal for production. Later, they could sit down and decide how much of this production should be swadeshi, and how much should be from new industrial methods. All they wanted to discuss were ways to avoid getting resources from outside. Both spheres were to use their own resources. There would have been no problem if standards for attitudes were established; however, the control should be in our own hands. If we lose our control, then we can have neither autonomy nor self-dependence.

Columnist Details Legal Plight of Muslim Women

Divorce Laws Feudal

94AS0304A Jalandhar PUNJAB KESARI in Hindi
27 May 94 p 4

[Article by Arun Shourie: "A Muslim Man Can Throw His Wife Out on the Street by Uttering Talaq Three Times Even While Drunk"]

[Text] As is well known, alcoholism is not permitted in Islam. Still, if a drunken man says the word "talaq" [divorce] three times, his marriage is finished, and his wife is left out on the street. In other words, it does not matter if the husband is in a condition that is totally forbidden, and if the situation is one of being drunk, which is not permitted. He can still, by saying one word three or four times, throw his wife out of the house. It does not matter how gentle and pious the woman is, nor how religious she is. She may have been married to the man for many years and borne many children to him. She may not have any means to support herself. She will still be out on the street. A husband's right is that decisive and irrevocable.

Let us consider how this irrevocable right is given to the husband who is drunk, which is, among other things, not permitted by the Koran. There are three things here. He is not only disobeying the Koran by drinking alcohol, but is also ignoring Koranic teachings by not being gentle and good-hearted. He is also disobeying the specific mandate about throwing out the wife. The Koran (IV.35) says: "Between those two, if there is fear of fighting, you set up a committee of two, one from the husband's family, and one from the wife's family. If they want to reconcile, Allah will help them. Allah is omniscient." Still, India has a law allowing a man to divorce by saying the word "talaq" three times. Not only this, but there is no room for changes in this fixed and scary law. The efforts made by Tilahri in this direction were condemned as an attack on Islam.

Divorce by saying talaq three times also contradicts a Hadis [order] of the Prophet. According to a well-known event, the Prophet received the news that one of his disciples had said the word "talaq" three times and had thus divorced his wife. The Prophet was extremely angered and stood on the carpet, announcing that this man had ridiculed the word of Allah, and forcing the man to accept his wife again. Still, divorce by saying the word three times is a law in India.

From Shah Waliullah, a great reformer who, in the 18th century, called talaq "extremely inhuman and against the religious policies", to Sir Sayyed Amir Ali, a legal expert, who wrote very painfully, "A large and influential organization of legal experts considered this divorce given by the husband, thus putting the wife in a very difficult situation, to be unconscionable. In his 1912

book, MOHAMMED'S LAW, he condemned this practice. He wrote with great concern that a large group of scholars did not consider Muslim divorce legal without the approval of judges. A modern reformer, Asif Faizi, wrote in 1960, "The right to divorce by just saying the word talaq three times is nonsense and unfair." He demanded that this system be repealed. Everyone condemned this right to divorce. All books on Muslim personal law called it "against religion" and "sinful" to throw out one's wife. Still, in practice, the situation is just this.

"Perhaps this is the most deplorable law in the Sunni Muslim religion, and possibly, it developed this way slowly." Judge Faiz Baduruddin Tayabji wrote in his famous book, PRINCIPLES OF MOHAMMED ALLAH, that "this is the fourth and most unacceptable law of divorce." He was referring to divorce by saying the word three times, which seems to be most prevalent and, in one sense, even endorsed by the law. "Since not much attention is given to other methods, it has been generally accepted on the principle that both involved parties agree as much as possible. The use of this fourth method of divorce was to get rid of the ceremonial process involved in divorce. The effect of this becomes more serious than grievous." Judge Tayabji wrote this 80 years ago. Forty years ago, Judge Shahmiri observed that since this method for divorcing one's wife is the "less problematic for the husband; therefore, it is the most prevalent method in India" (Ahmedgiri vs. Wada Air, 1955 J and K). These words are true even today.

Now we must pay attention to the fact that the system of divorcing by saying talaq thrice has been eliminated from one Islamic country after another. It is not accepted in Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia, Egypt, Sudan, Jordan, Syria, Iraq, Turkey, Bangladesh, or Pakistan. More than 30 years ago—according to the Muslim Family Law Directive of 1961, number 8—Pakistan eliminated this right of husbands. Since then, it has been required that a husband who wants to divorce his wife must present written notice in front of an appointed official and must inform his wife of it. That official will then establish a panel to try to get the husband and wife reconciled. The divorce is not in effect until such efforts fail. Any announced divorce by other methods is not acceptable. Instead, the husband who does not follow the approved method is jailed, fined, or given punishment. This was done in Pakistan 33 years ago; however, divorce by saying talaq three times is not only a law in India, but when people are reminded of what the Koran says about it, then retaliate by saying it is an insult to the Islamic religion.

Why is it that a system which violates Koranic principles, is against the words of the prophet, is illogical and unacceptable, and has been eliminated by one Muslim country after another, is still followed in India? Rather, it is being presented as a religious order, and a religion to stop it is condemned as an attack on Islam.

The first and easiest answer can be made clear after looking at another common question. We should move from this specific action of throwing one's wife out and consider the real meaning of the right of the husband to throw out his wife.

Islamic writers emphasize that the Prophet was very concerned about the welfare of women. He had especially issued a directive about divorce, and in the list of actions that were permitted, divorce in the name of Allah was considered "the most hated" and "the most condemned." This is a formal situation. In law, throwing the wife out seems to have been made the easiest thing for a Muslim husband.

Marriage ends when the wife is divorced or when the husband vocalizes the word "talaq." India is implementing this as defined in the law. The husband does not have to show any reason for divorcing his wife. He can announce his decision to divorce either verbally or in a written format. Actually, according to our law, the husband does not even have to say talaq three times. If he announces it to be irreversible and final, he need only say "talaq" once. He can do it in the presence of his wife or in her absence. It has been determined appropriate that if the wife is not informed, the divorce is still effective and valid. The wife is divorced and thrown out even when the word is said in anger, in a joke, or even if it slips out of the tongue carelessly. It applies while intoxicated, if one has been forced to say the word, or if a husband announced it fearing physical harm to himself or his loved ones, and even if a man said the word to satisfy his relatives!

How did it happen that an action which, in the eyes of Allah, is not permissible and is the most hateful thing, has been made so easy to accomplish?

The answer to this was presented very succinctly by Judge Faiz Baduruddin Tayabji. He remembered Mainey's statement and quoted his book *HINDU LAW*, "Men formed the laws for marriage in such a way that they are as according to their wishes as possible."

This is, however, definitely the first and closest answer. The law the Indian Muslims have received is an open violation of Koranic orders and is also against the wishes of the Prophet, who is the greatest in the eyes of the Muslims. Not only this, but men of other religions are forced to follow the fair laws of the country. Therefore, we cannot explain the situation by calling it a conspiracy by the husband. However, we ask why this right of the Muslim husband is still being honored

Widows Denied Earning Potential

94AS0304B Jalandhar PUNJAB KESARI in Hindi
3 Jun 94 p 6

[Article by Arun Shori: "A Muslim Widow Has No Right To Earn Her Keep Even If She Is Pregnant"]

[Text] "Giving a divorce by saying talaq three times is anti-religious but normal." Sayyed Amir Ali wrote this in his famous book, *MOHAMMEDAN LAW*, 80 years ago. "This practice was started in the second century of the Mohammedan era. The Umaid nawabs of the time found that the mandate issued by the prophet created problems for them in divorcing their wives and also threatened their licentious lives spent in luxury. They decided to look for ways to fight the strict laws, found some loopholes, and used them for their purposes."

Asghar Ali Engineer, in his recent book, *THE RIGHT OF WOMEN IN ISLAM*, has presented these incidents more accurately and in a lively style. He writes, "The question arises: Why did the second Caliph, Hazrat Umar, began allowing divorce by saying talaq three times? Renowned Egyptian scholar Mohammed Hussein Hikail says that this was done because of the extraordinary situation at that time. During the religious wars, many women were taken from Syria, Egypt, and other places to Medina. They were light-skinned and beautiful, and the Arabs were so attracted to them that they wanted to marry them. These women were not used to living with other wives, however, and they often demanded that the man who wanted to marry them first divorce their other wives so that they could not return. They did not know that according to the Koran and Sunna [Muslim law], divorcing thrice was only considered as one divorce. The Arabs, in order to satisfy Syrian and other women, would say the word talaq three times, but then would take their former wives back. This led to the practice of numerous marriages. To alleviate this situation, Hazrat Umar thought it appropriate to make this triple divorce system irrevocable in a meeting. Since then, this method of divorce has become an integral part of the Sunni Muslim religious system. It is widely practiced in the Islamic world."

There are two clear aspects that should be discussed. First, this "rule" was created for selfish reasons and was a method to give the image of legality to deal with specific situations. These situations included: the desire of the Umaid Nawabs for luxurious, loose, and lustful lives, as explained by Sayyed Amir Ali; or, as Asghar Ali

Engineer explained in detail, it was to stop the libertine Arabs from the ticks they pulled to grab the light-skinned and beautiful women. The second is that as centuries passed, these rules, developed for selfish reasons, became laws, one of which is still followed in India. It really is a permanent law, because it has been considered part of Shariat, and Shariat is considered the canon of the Islamic religion. No one can touch it.

There are many reasons that explain the subsequent results. There is one rule which I am able to discuss for a brief overview keeping within the legal framework. The British rulers did not have the goal of improving the situation of people in India. Their goal naturally was to strengthen the British government and make it last. Therefore, they did not want to give an opportunity to leaders of different communal groups to make their followers angry over anything. This was especially true after the shock they received in 1857. Therefore, they made three rules about the personal laws related to different religions: First, the affairs of every communal group should be resolved according to the laws that they follow. It does not matter whether these laws are regressive or unfair. Second, until a group and its leaders make a strong request for a change in their laws, nothing should be done about it. Third, and this is the rule that has created the present mess; if a communal group says something about a specific law, do not try to go all the way back to the prophet and the religious books. Whatever the scholars and commentators of that group say should be accepted.

Yet these religious scholars continue to invent selfish laws such as the "triple divorce" and continue to give validity to them. The rule adopted by the British court, without discussing or investigating the original source helped make these selfish reasonings laws. They are in front of us now in unchanged form, holding the poor Muslims in their clutches.

Twenty years ago, Daniel Latifi—who was once a lawyer for Shahbano—provided a powerful example. The Koran clearly says (II.241), "Those of you who die leaving widows behind you must make arrangements in your will for their upkeep for one year." By violating this edict openly, the Islamic law called *Hidaya* says, "It is not necessary to give support to the widow after her husband dies . . ." The Imamiya went even further, saying, "If the widow is present, still, no support should be given to her." As Daniel Latifi wrote, and when the case went to the Privy Council (*Agha Mohammed vs. Kulsum Bi*, 1897), he refused to let the orders of the Koran be implemented. "We are not interested in checking this system which the Koran mentions in S.II.240-3 or is similar to the statement in the *Hadiya* or *Balli's Imamiya*." The justice council of the Privy Council had written, "It would be inappropriate for the Court to oppose such old and important comments and give its own definition of the Koran." Latifi wrote in the context of *Bakar Ali Khan* case of 1903, "The Privy Council repeated this rule of denial—the rule of British avoidance—again"

"We believe that accepting this as a theory would be extremely dangerous when new rules are presented in such a way that the modern lawyers might believe that these had been taken from old books—regardless of how comprehensive they are—and appear to be logical and appropriate. Even the older legal scholars may have not inferred similar conclusions from them."

In 1947, this system of convenience became the wail of helplessness. Its example is the 1955 case of *Amadgiri versus Vadha*, in which Judge Shahmiri, as we read earlier, said that the "triple talaq" is the most prevalent practice in India. No change can be brought about in this context through legal comment or definition. If the Muslims have the desire to return to the old purity of Islam, then changes cannot be made in the Islamic laws. In the words of late Sir Sayyed Amir Ali, "this is possible only in a regular meeting of Muslim scholars or the direct action of the *vidhan sabha*."

What was the result of this? Even the clearest lessons of the Koran are not being followed. For example, in case of a fight between a husband and wife, the 35th clause is not followed because this society, inured to unequal and despotic control by men has decided that it is not necessary to implement it now as it was not in the past. Any effort in this direction would be an attack on Islam as made clear by Judge Tilerhi in the *Shahbano* case related to the "triple talaq" custom.

What do the fundamentalists refer to when they condemn these decisions? They refer to the privy council of 1897 in which they said that the courts should not look at the Koran and the Sunna of the Prophet. Instead, the courts should follow what the commentators have written and declared to be right.

What changes are the fundamentalists opposed to when they stop following the Koranic teachings and the sermons of the Prophet and put their faith in the British privy council? They are doing it in the name of protecting the Shariat which is said to emanate from, and be part of, the Koran and the Prophet's Sunna!

Punjabi Language Said Suffering From Sikh Identity

94AS0305B Jalandhar PUNJAB KESARI in Hindi
24 May 94 p 4

[Article by Satpal Dang: "Let the Punjabi Language Be Saved From Communalism"]

[Text] It is important for the intellectual development of the people, especially children, that their mother tongue has an appropriate place in education and in the operation of their government. If we accept this perspective, both the Punjabis and the Punjabi language have been unfortunate.

Whatever the reason, it is a fact that a major portion of Punjabi Hindus wrongly refuse to acknowledge Punjabi as their mother tongue. There was a time when only the

communists who were born in Hindu families raised their voice against this wrong stand. Gyani Zail Singh, former chief minister of Punjab, once asked a communist leader, "You Hindu communist leaders can raise your voice in support of Punjabi, and have done so, however, Hindu Congress Party members cannot do that." This situation has improved, although is not fully satisfactory. Many people feel now that opposition to their mother tongue has hurt the people of Punjab. Still, many people use English or Hindi instead of Punjabi in many aspects of their daily life.

The other major reason for Punjabi not getting its rightful place in Punjab has been the Sikh leaders' presenting Punjabi as part of Sikh religion. They call their writings in Gurumukhi [Punjabi script; literally 'from the mouth of the Gurus'] the foundation of their culture. Punjabi was also associated with the Sikh state demand in the beginning, and later with the demand of making a state with Sikh-majority areas. This attitude made the Hindus oppose Punjabi even more. This extremely wrong attitude has changed a lot now. There still is room for more improvement.

As the result of the demand for a separate state in Punjab, the situation of Punjabi did improve. For example, a major portion of the Punjab government's budget is published in Punjabi. The laws and mandates issued by the [Punjab] Vidhan Sabha are now printed in Punjabi as well as in English. The proceedings of the Vidhan Sabha are published only in Punjabi language. There are many other such examples. Some people have become too friendly with Pakistan and receive advice from there on how to get Punjabi fully accepted as soon as possible. I would like to tell these people that the situation of Punjabi in our Punjab is a lot better than its situation in the Pakistani Punjab. However, this does not mean that we should be fully satisfied. We must continue our efforts with the government until Punjabi gets its appropriate place. The time has come to focus on other areas in this regards.

Is not it true that even some major supporters of Punjabi send their children to schools where English is taught from the first grade? In these schools, the children are taught that it is embarrassing to speak in their own mother tongue. Is not it a fact that most Punjabis print their wedding or special occasion announcements and invitations in English (or Hindi)? Do not all middle class people use new year greeting cards printed in English? One cannot find such cards on Punjabi because there is no demand for them. In my opinion, in addition to fighting with the government, the Punjabi supporters should make sure that the people have true love for the Punjabi language. It will be possible only when we fully separate Punjabi from religion [Sikhism] and make it a secular language. The fears and misunderstandings that the Hindu Punjabis have about Punjabi language should be removed by appropriate public information efforts. It is important that the Punjabi supporters also raise their voice in support of Hindi getting its appropriate place and is separated from religion.

We are all Indians. However, it is a fact that not all Punjabis are proud of being Punjabis as are Bengalis of being Bengalis. Many people are spreading the word of "Punjabism" to change this unfortunate situation. We are not totally opposed to this effort and even support it, however, we feel that this problem cannot be solved this way. We have never heard a word like "Bengalism," still the Bengalis have a strong sense of being Bengalis and they always speak Bangla language because of this feeling. If there is a non-Bengali in a group, they have to be reminded repeatedly about it, otherwise, they continue speaking Bangla. It is very important to first learn about why the Punjabis lack this feeling. The major reason for this is that the language issue in Punjab is tied to religion and has become a communal issue. Until this problem is removed from its roots, the feeling of "Punjabism" will not emerge. The Punjabi speakers who consider Hindi to be their true language must be put on the right path. It is necessary to straighten out this wrong attitude. This wrong attitude is part of the belief that Hindus cannot become real Punjabis, and only Sikhs can carry the flag for Punjabi language and "Punjabism." This belief is not only wrong, but also dangerous. This will prove detrimental to Punjabi language and "Punjabism" and encourage communalism. We must control this inclination with equal urgency as addressing the inclination of Punjabi Hindus to not favor Punjabi language as they should.

I hope that all organizations that are working toward getting Punjabi its appropriate place will consider these issues seriously and will not limit their activities to a narrow field. They will also work with the Punjabis to change their attitude while demanding their rights from the government.

IRAN

Official Criticizes Government's Lack of Support

94LA0184A Tehran ABRAR in Persian 8 May 94 p 5

[Text] Sari—ABRAR Correspondent: The governor-general of Mazandaran criticized the government's lack of attention to the problems and difficulties in this province in the First Five-Year Plan.

Our correspondent reports that Geranmayeh spoke at the second meeting at the province of Mazandaran Administrative Council. He said: Mazandaran, with its resources and potential capabilities, is considered one of the nation's exceptional provinces, but the failure to make the best use of these abilities in the First Five-Year Plan has spread the deprivation in Mazandaran.

In this regard he discussed the lack of resources for receiving tourism in Mazandaran. He added: The resources for making use of the tourist attractions in Mazandaran are at zero, and this has effectively kept this province from having any success in attracting tourism.

As this meeting continued, the governor-general of Mazandaran discussed the need to make as much use as possible of the private sector's resources and abilities to solve the province's problems. He said: For the first time, under an agreement signed by the governor-general of Mazandaran and the National Forests and Pastures Organization, the utilization of the forests and parks in Mazandaran will be turned over to cooperative companies and the private sector.

Professor Says Bureaucracy Hindering Research

94LA0184B Tehran ABRAR in Persian 5 May 94 p 5

[Text] Shiraz—IRNA: According to a faculty member at the University of Shiraz, the bureaucracy and the fact that the university does not have full discretion in the use of its approved budget have prevented the development of university research.

Dr. Bani-Hashemi said: For this reason, a researcher who has presented his project and whose budget has been approved cannot easily make use of that budget, and made adequate use of the existing resources in the university.

He said: The lack of suitable educational space, the scarcity of research resources and equipment and the long process of applying for materials are among the major problems with the research and scientific activities of professors.

Dr. Bani-Hashemi, who is a member of the University of Shiraz's chemistry faculty, added: In the last 10 years about 400 scientific articles from the University of Shiraz Chemistry Department have been published in reputable international and domestic journals, and this is 20 percent of the total number of articles published by all the faculty in this field.

According to his prediction, there is a need for 80 professors in various chemical fields for the College of Chemistry's overall plan.

He added: With the procurement of this academic faculty, there will be an annual admissions capacity for 100 master's degree students, 75 doctoral students, and 70 postdoctoral students.

He said: There are currently 35 doctoral students, more than 50 expert guidance students and 310 students studying at the expert level.

Construction of 22 New Fishing Ports Under Way

94LA0184C Tehran ABRAR in Persian 5 May 94 p 5

[Text] Municipalities Service: The construction of 22 fishing ports is under way in the country and will soon be completed.

ABRAR's correspondent reports from Esfahan that Engineer Foruzesh, minister of construction jihad, in

announcing the above, said: Of this number, five ports are in the north and 17 ports are in the south part of the country.

He discussed the activities and accomplishments of the construction jihad since the beginning, and he said the most important reason for this body's success is the devotion and spirit of cooperation among its members.

Foruzesh added: Until last year the Ministry of Construction Jihad was an importer of one-day chicks, and now it exports them.

The minister of construction jihad also thanked Movahedian, the former chief of the construction jihad of Esfahan, and introduced Faqih Imani as this organization's new chief in Esfahan.

Foundation for Oppressed Establishes New Airline

94LA0184D Tehran ABRAR in Persian 8 May 94 p 4

[Text] Economic Service: The executive director of the Foundation for the Oppressed and Wounded War Veterans Airline Company, Bon Air, which will begin transporting freight and passengers soon, has been appointed.

According to the public relations office of the Foundation for the Oppressed and Wounded War Veterans, by order of Mr. Javad Mosadeqi, deputy director of the foundation and executive director of the Transportation and Shipping Organization, Mr. 'Ata'ollah Sadr, this organization's deputy director, while retaining this position, has been appointed and has assumed duties as deputy director of air transportation and shipping and executive director of the foundation's airline company.

Akbarabad Medical Center Inaugurated

94LA0184E Tehran ABRAR in Persian 8 May 94 p 1

[Text] The Akbarabad vice regent of the Age Health Care and Treatment Center was put into operation in the presence of the executive director of the Tehran Province Regional Health Care and Treatment Organization, the supervisor of the Rabat Karim Health Care Center, the mayor of Akbarabad, several local officials, and the people of the area.

This center, which was equipped and put into operation with the financial assistance of the Akbarabad mayor's office and with the procurement of the necessary credits by the Tehran Province Regional Health Care and Treatment Organization, has departments for maternity and pediatrics, general medicine, midwifery, family planning, vaccinations and injections, and bandaging, and will soon have a dentistry department and a laboratory.

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